THE MINISTRY OF WOMEN

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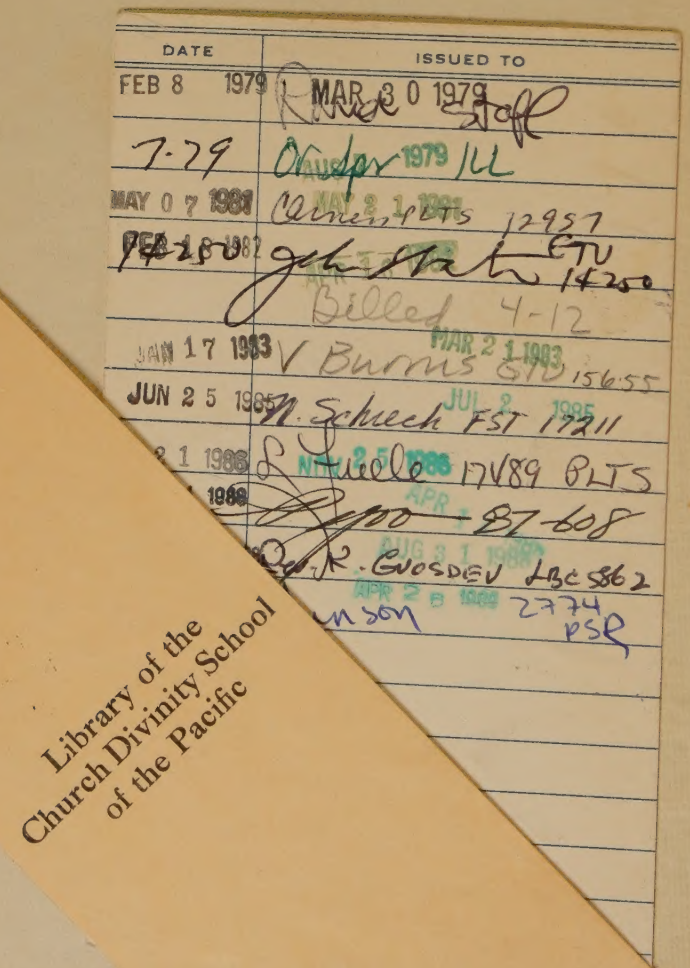

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THE MINISTRY OF WOMEN

A CISTERCIAN ABBESS.

Probably Philippine de Lattre, Abbess of Marquette, near Lille, 1511–1540.

From her contemporary portrait in the Louvre.

[*Frontispiece.*

[*Copyright, Braun & Co.*

Church of England. Archbishop of Canterbury's committee on the ministry of women.

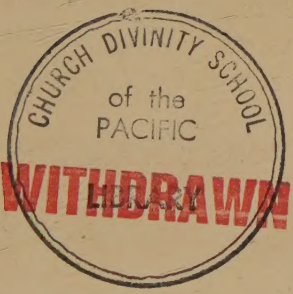
THE MINISTRY OF WOMEN

A REPORT BY A COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY HIS GRACE THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

WITH APPENDICES

AND

FIFTEEN COLLOTYPE ILLUSTRATIONS



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[1] Dr. Headlam resigned from the Committee owing to pressure of other work before the issue of this Report.

PREFACE

In the following Report no attempt has been made to deal with the subject exhaustively, or even to go into much detail, save only upon certain points of crucial importance. As far as possible, the aim has been to present a simple statement of the main facts, concluding with a very brief summary. The reader who wishes for a more extended treatment, for fuller references, and for documents, will find them in the very ample appendices.

It is even here needful to add a warning that there is room for a much more detailed investigation than has yet been attempted of many branches of the subject.

The New Testament evidence has been treated with some fulness by Dr. Mason in Appendix I.; and St. Paul's attitude towards women by Miss Alice Gardner in Appendix II.

For a general survey of the history of deaconesses from the earliest times to the present day the reader will turn to the admirable article by that excellent scholar, the late Dr. Collins, Bishop of Gibraltar, which, with kind permission of editor and publishers, we have reprinted from the *Church Quarterly Review* of January, 1899, as Appendix VII. Dr. Collins's accuracy and wealth of detail and his clearness of statement have made it unnecessary to provide any very lengthy historical treatment of this part of the subject in the main body of the Report.

The results of more recent scholarship as applied to the series of primitive documents known as the "Church Orders" will be found in the Bishop of Moray's essay, printed as Appendix III. And a specially full examination of the most important of them is given by the Dean of Wells in Appendix IV., wherein he has revised and added to the

account of the sections of the *Apostolic Constitutions* relating to the subject, which he originally wrote for the late Miss Cecilia Robinson's book, *The Ministry of Deaconesses*. This, although published some years ago, is still the best book on the subject, and one to which the Committee has been greatly indebted.

In Appendix V. Miss Gardner gives an account of Authorised Women Teachers in the Early Church.

The Committee is indebted to the kindness of Dr. C. H. Turner, of Magdalen College, Oxford, for allowing his valuable paper on Ministries of Women in the Primitive Church to be printed as Appendix VI. Special attention is drawn to his conclusions regarding the Ante-Nicene period.

Appendices VIII. and IX. relate to the mediæval period. In the first of these Mr. A. Hamilton Thompson explains the growth and nature of mediæval monasteries in which both sexes lived together under the rule of an abbess, as well as the relations between houses of women and the clergy ministering to them. In Appendix IX. Mr. Eeles describes the part taken by women in the services of churches of their religious orders, and the evidence afforded by their dress. He also deals with the privileges of certain great Continental houses of women, especially those of secular canonesses not under vows, and with the position of queens-regnant.

Appendix X., by Dr. Weitbrecht Stanton, describes in detail the modern revival of deaconesses in the Churches of the Anglican Communion, and Appendix XI., by Head-Deaconesses Siddall and Barker, includes a statement of their views upon the position of the deaconess movement in this country. American Deaconesses are dealt with by Deaconess Caroline M. Sanford, S.Th., in Appendix XII. Appendix XIII. contains an account by the Very Reverend James Cooper, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow, of the deaconess movement in the Established Church of Scotland.

Appendix XIV. contains a collation in parallel columns of liturgical services, ancient and modern, relating to deaconesses, for which the Committee is indebted to the Rev. A. D. Rigby. It must be understood that the suggested form of ordination of deaconesses in Mr. Rigby's collation is

printed as part of the work of Mr. Rigby himself, and not as a considered deliverance of the Committee. Although included as a careful and interesting piece of work, the Committee does not assume responsibility for it. Other forms are given in Appendix XVI., in which some miscellaneous but important documents have been added.

In view of considerations of space it has not been thought necessary to recount in detail many of the more obvious and better known restrictions as to the position of women, especially in later times.

The thanks of the Committee are due to the writers of the essays printed in the Appendices and also to the Rev. Leighton Pullan for much valuable information. The Committee is under a great obligation to Mr. Egerton Beck for some most important references; to Mr. W. A. Forsyth and to Miss M. S. Merewald; as well as to Miss Lena Diver, for her careful typing of numerous documents and to many others who have rendered assistance, including Mr. A. Van de Put and Mr. F. M. Beaumont of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, for help in the matter of illustrations.

CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE - - - - - - - - - v

REPORT

PART I.—THE NEW TESTAMENT - - - - 2

PART II.—THE MINISTRATIONS OF WOMEN IN THE CHURCH FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT TO MODERN TIMES - - - - - - - - - 5

History of Deaconesses since Apostolic Times - - 5
Functions - - - - - - - - 7
Ordination - - - - - - - - 9
The Nature of the Diaconate of Women - - 10
Deaconesses among the Nestorians and Monophysites 11
Age - - - - - - - - - 12
Other Ministering Women and the Relation of Deaconesses to them - - - - - - - 12
Restrictions - - - - - - - - 13
The Ministrations of Women Religious in and after the Middle Ages - - - - - - - 15
Ecclesiastical Powers of Women - - - - - 16
A Short Summary of Conclusions upon Early and Mediæval Developments - - - - - - 19

PART III.—MODERN DEVELOPMENTS - - - 21
The Modern Revival - - - - - - 23
On Licensed Workers - - - - - - 25
Sisterhoods - - - - - - - - 28

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I.—THE MINISTRIES OF WOMEN IN THE NEW TESTAMENT - - - - - - - - 29
By the Rev. A. J. Mason, D.D., Canon of Canterbury.

APPENDIX II.—ST. PAUL AND WOMEN - - 46
By Miss Alice Gardner.

PAGE

APPENDIX III.—THE MINISTRY OF WOMEN FROM THE FOURTH CENTURY TO THE SIXTH - - - 53
By the Right Rev. A. J. Maclean, D.D., Bishop of Moray, Ross, and Caithness.

APPENDIX IV.—DEACONESSES IN THE "APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS" - - - - - - - - 64
By the Very Rev. J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Dean of Wells.

APPENDIX V.—AUTHORISED WOMEN TEACHERS IN THE EARLY CHURCH - - - - - - - 79
By Miss Alice Gardner.

APPENDIX VI.—MINISTRIES OF WOMEN IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH - - - - - - - - 87
By Dr. C. H. Turner.

APPENDIX VII.—ON THE EARLY HISTORY AND MODERN REVIVAL OF DEACONESSES - - - - 106
By the late Dr. William Collins, Bishop of Gibraltar.[1]

APPENDIX VIII.—DOUBLE MONASTERIES AND THE MALE ELEMENT IN NUNNERIES - - - - - 145
By A. Hamilton Thompson, M.A., F.S.A.

APPENDIX IX.—MINISTRIES OF WOMEN IN AND SINCE THE MIDDLE AGES - - - - - - - 165
By Francis C. Eeles.

APPENDIX X.—THE MODERN REVIVAL AND DEVELOPMENT OF DEACONESS LIFE AND WORK—WOMANHOOD OF THE MODERN AGE - - - - - - 182
By the Rev. H. U. Weitbrecht Stanton, D.D.

APPENDIX XI.—THE MINISTRY AND ORDER OF DEACONESSES - - - - - - - - - 202
By Head-Deaconesses Siddall and Barker.

APPENDIX XII.—THE DEACONESS ORDER IN THE AMERICAN CHURCH - - - - - - - 211
By Deaconess Caroline H. Sanford, S.Th.

[1] Reprinted by permission of the editor and publishers from the *Church Quarterly Review*, January, 1899, pp. 302 *ff*.

PAGE

APPENDIX XIII.—DEACONESSES IN THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF SCOTLAND - - - - - - 216

By the Very Rev. JAMES COOPER, D.D., D.C.L., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Church History in the University of Glasgow.

APPENDIX XIV.—FORMS FOR THE ORDINATION OF DEACONESSES - - - - - - - - 219

Edited by the Rev. A. D. RIGBY, B.D., Vicar of Blacktoft, E. Yorkshire.

PART I.—A Collation of—

I. Eastern Forms.

Antiochene. From *Apostolic Constitutions*, viii. 18, 19 (*C.* A.D. 375).

Constantinopolitan. From Goar, *Euchologion Græcorum*, p. 262; From Matthew Blastares, *c.* 1335, qu. Goar.

Nestorian. From Pontifical of 1559, tr. Maclean.

II. Western Forms.

Italian. From Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicæ*, v. 577.

North French. From Pontifical of Egbert, Surtees Soc. pp. 19, 94.

III.—Modern Forms: Durham. Exeter. East London. London. Newcastle. Rochester and Southwark. Llandaff. A proposed new form.

PART II.—A Collation of Dr. Deacon the Nonjuror's Form, 1734, with Forms 1 to 6 in § III. above, and a proposed new form.

APPENDIX XV.—SOME OTHER MODERN LITURGICAL FORMS - - - - - - - - 288

1. FORMS FOR THE SETTING APART OF DEACONESSES IN THE DIOCESES OF PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW YORK - - 288

2. NEWCASTLE DIOCESAN DEACONESS INSTITUTION. FORM FOR INSTITUTION OF HEAD-DEACONESS - - - 293

3. FORM FOR THE ADMISSION OF DEACONESSES IN DENMARK 294
Translated, with a Note, by Pastor DALHOFF, Copenhagen.

4. A LETTER ON DEACONESSES IN THE CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC CHURCH ["IRVINGITE"] - - - - - 295
By the Rev. CHAS. E. W. STUART.

PAGE

APPENDIX XVI.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES AND DOCUMENTS - - - - - - - 296

1. A Note on the Administration of the Reserved Sacrament by Women - - - - - - - 296

   Chiefly taken from *The Sacrament Reserved*, by the late Rev. W. H. Freestone, M.A., 1917. Alcuin Club, Collection No. XXI.

2. A Note on the Preparation of the Eucharistic Elements 298

   By Francis C. Eeles.

3. Women (Exclusive of Nuns, etc.) in the Mediæval Church - - - - - - - - 299

   By the Rev. J. P. Whitney, D.D.

4. On Justinian's Novel concerning Deaconesses. With the text of the Novel - - - - - - 300

   By Miss Alice Gardner.

5. An Early Form for Blessing an Abbess - - - 302

   From the seventh-century Bobbio Missal (Paris, *Bib. Nat.* MS. No. 13,246). From *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, L. A. Muratori, 1748, vol. ii., col. 955.

6. Injunctions to the Canonesses of Moutiers-sur-Sambre by John of Flanders, Bishop of Liège, A.D. 1288 - 303

7. On Carthusian Nuns - - - - - - 305

   From Pierre Hèlyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, t. vii., pp. 402-404.

8. On the Secular Canonesses of Remiremont and Epinal - 309

   From Félix de Salles, *Chapitres Nobles de Lorraine, Vienne, and Paris*, 1888.

9. The Crowning of a Queen of Bohemia by the Abbess of Hradschin - - - - - - - - 313

   Règlement du Cérémonial. From *Chapitres Nobles d'Autriche*, by Félix de Salles, Vienne, 1889, p. 33.

10. Extracts from the English Fifteenth-Century Rules for the Nuns of the Brigettine House of Syon, near Isleworth - - - - - - - - 315

    From *The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery*, by G. J. Aungier, London, 1840.

11. Women and Oblations - - - - - - 317

12. Saxon Documents signed by Abbesses - - - 318

INDEX - - - - - - - - 319

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PORTRAIT OF A CISTERCIAN ABBESS, PROBABLY PHILIPPINE DE LATTRE, ABBESS OF MARQUETTE, NEAR LILLE, 1511-1540 - - - - - - *Frontispiece*

NOTE.—The abbess is here shown in the white Cistercian habit, with black *cappa* or mantle, a very large wimple, a linen bonnet, over which is a black veil. On the first finger of her right hand she wears what appears to be the abbatial ring, and she has another ring, probably that of her profession as a nun, upon her third finger. Against her right shoulder rests her crosier, from the crook of which depends the *vexillum*, the edge of which has a narrow fringe.

At the side of the desk at which she is kneeling are the following arms:

Upon an oval cartouche charged upon a crosier in pale, the arms azure, a chevron or.

Beneath is a scroll inscribed with the motto:

PENSER I FAVLT DE LATTRE

We are indebted to Mr. A. Van de Put, of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, for the following additional note:

This portrait—No. 1,006 in the National Museum of the Louvre, Paris—appears, so far, to have remained unidentified. It was previously in the Sauvageot collection, and was entered in Lafenestre and Richtenberger's catalogue, *Le Musée national du Louvre*, p. 134 (1893), as an "Abbesse agenouillée" (with brief description of the costume and accessories); the official catalogue, Sommaire des peintures: Ecole française (1909), gives the title "Abbesse agenouillée devant son prie-Dieu"

With the aid of the clue afforded by the surname DE LATTRE, the abbess may be identified—provisionally, at all events—as Philippa or Philippine de Lattre, who was abbess of Marquette, a Cistercian house near Lille, from 1511 till 1540. A seal of this abbess of Marquette, the design of which shows her standing within a niche, with a shield bearing a chevron below, is catalogued in J. T. De Raadt, *Sceaux armoriés des Pays-Bas et des pays avoisinants* (ii., p. 320). She is mentioned also in Le Glay, *Cameracum christianum*, 1849 (p. 319); and *Gallia Christiana* (Nova, iii., p. 315) states that she restored the observance of the rule (*i.e.*, at Marquette), which had much degenerated, to its pristine beauty.

A CARTHUSIAN CONSECRATED NUN, c. 1700 - *facing p.* 8

From Hèlyot, *Histoire des Ordres Religieux*, t. vii., p. 402.

She is vested in the grey Carthusian habit, with *cappa* or mantle of the same colour, and a black veil. She wears a stole over both mantle and veil, and a maniple on her right arm. These vestments are of the rather clumsy fashion of the period. They are confused with the same forms as are used in the case of deacons. On her head is a crown and in her right hand a lighted candle. For further particulars, see pp. 168–9.

A CANONESS REGULAR OF CHAILLOT, NEAR PARIS, c. 1700 *facing p.* 20

From Hèlyot, *op. cit.*, t. ii., p. 62

She is vested in a short surplice with full sleeves—about that time the surplice was being cut short on the Continent, though contrary to rules—and the black fur almuce hangs over her left arm. Many canons carried it thus at times when it was not worn on shoulders or head.

A BENEDICTINE NUN OF BYGHARD LE GRAND - *facing p.* 28

From Bar, *Recueil de tous les costumes des Ordres Religieux* . . . t. vi., Paris, 1789.

She is vested in a full surplice with long sleeves of the usual type. In choir she wore the black Benedictine surplice in addition.

A CANONESS REGULAR OF ST. SEPULCHRE, c. 1700 - *facing p.* 52

From Hèlyot, *op. cit.*, t. ii., p. 126.

Showing sleeveless rochet and black *cappa* or mantle worn in choir. Both are marked with an eight-pointed cross, and the *cappa* has attached to it a knotted cord hanging from the left side and looped up to the right.

AN ENGLISH BENEDICTINE ABBESS: THE BRASS OF ELIZABETH HARVEY, ABBESS OF ELSTOW, IN ELSTOW PARISH CHURCH, BEDFORDSHIRE, c. 1525 - *facing p.* 144

She is represented in the Benedictine *cuculla*, like a black surplice (as, indeed, it was actually described by the Bishop of Liège in 1288; see p. 304), with the black *cappa*, or mantle, over it, a pleated wimple which covers her chin, and two veils. Her crosier rests against her right shoulder. The inscription reads:

✠ Orate pro Anima domine Elizabeth | Herwy quondam Abbatisse monasterij de Eluestow que Obiit die mensis Anno | Domini millesimo quingentesimo | Cuius Anime et Omniũ fidelium defunctorum propicietur deus A M E N

SCENES FROM "A MAIDEN'S PILGRIMAGE AFTER TRUTH," SHOWING HER COMMUNION AND RECEPTION INTO A CONVENT - - - - - - *facing p.* 160

From a West Franconian or Swabian tapestry of the latter part of the fifteenth century, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.

The abbess or prioress receives her, crosier in hand. The habit seems to indicate the Cistercian order. The communion scene shows a priest in apparelled albe and chasuble standing on the footpace of an altar with a flowered frontal and fringed frontlet. Upon it are the corporal, chalice, and paten, with a missal and two candlesticks, and behind is a low dorsal or reredos with a crucifixion scene.

A CISTERCIAN CONSECRATED NUN, FOURTEENTH CENTURY *facing p.* 168

From De Molèon, *Voyages Liturgiques*, Paris, 1718, p. 235.

From an effigy formerly at Port Royal des Champs. She is vested in the Cistercian habit, with a form of maniple on the right arm.

A CANONESS SECULAR OF COLOGNE, c. 1700 - *facing p.* 176

From Hèlyot, *op. cit.*, t. vi., p. 426.

She wears a girded albe with sleeves gathered and tied at the wrist, like those of an English bishop's rochet. Beneath is a dress of figured silk. She has a ruff round her neck, and over her head is a very long veil which appears to be a combination of veil and choir mantle.

A CANONESS SECULAR OF NIVELLE, c. 1700 - *facing p.* 200

From Hèlyot, *op. cit.*, t. vi., p. 432.

She wears, over a silk dress, a form of rochet with transverse stripes and long sleeves like a surplice, a kind of apron which is probably the remains of a surplice, of which the sleeves have become attached to the rochet, a ruff, a veil and a fur-lined choir mantle or *cappa*.

A BENEDICTINE CONSECRATED NUN, AT RONCERAI, c. 1700 *facing p.* 294

From Hèlyot, *op. cit.*, t. v., p. 293.

She is vested in a surplice with large square-cut sleeves open at the bottom, like those of a "winged" rochet, well known in France at that time and earlier, heavily trimmed with lace, as was fashionable on the Continent during the later Renaissance period. She has a wimple, and apparently linen bands on the top of it; her veil is surmounted by a wreath of flowers and leaves.

A CANONESS SECULAR OF REMIREMONT, c. 1700 - *facing p.* 310

From Hèlyot, *op. cit.*, t. vi., p. 419.

She wears a fur-lined choir *cappa* or mantle, over a dress which retains no distinctively ecclesiastical features.

A CANONESS REGULAR OF THE LATERAN, c. 1700 *facing p.* 314

From Hèlyot, *op. cit.*, t. ii., p. 55.

Showing the sleeved rochet worn as part of the ordinary dress.

The same, u.s., p. 58 - - - - - *facing p.* 316

Showing the black *cappa* worn over the rochet in choir in winter.

The same, u.s., p. 56 - - - - - *facing p.* 318

Showing the surplice worn instead of the *cappa* in choir in summer

THE MINISTRY OF WOMEN

REPORT

To the Most Reverend His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury:

We herewith beg to submit to your Grace our Report on "The sanctions and restrictions which govern the ministrations of women in the life of the Church, and the status and work of deaconesses," for the consideration of which subject we were appointed in the early part of 1917.

By your Grace's request our investigations have been purely historical in character. We have not dealt with questions bearing upon sex in comparative or speculative theology, nor with the reasons why women have never been ordained to the priesthood. The application of the results of our researches to the solution of modern problems has not been before us. Opinions or suggestions on these matters expressed in the appendices are given solely on the responsibility of their writers. We are well aware of these matters, but it seems desirable to emphasise the fact that they do not come under the terms of reference of this Committee.

The obscurity of the subject in the Middle Ages has led to a certain amount of delay. We considered it better to wait until we could get a good body of material rather than to produce at an earlier date a less full and adequate treatment of the subject. Even as it is, we are by no means satisfied with what is here offered, but we trust that the materials will be of some value to other workers, and may lead to the production of a really scholarly and exhaustive treatise on the whole subject.

PART I

THE NEW TESTAMENT

An historical enquiry into the "Ministry of Women" in the Christian Church must begin with the evidence furnished by the New Testament. As, however, a full discussion of this aspect of the subject is to be found in a Memorandum contributed by the Rev. A. J. Mason, D.D., Canon of Canterbury, and embodied in the Appendices, it will not be necessary here to give more than a brief summary of the main facts.

In the first century of the Christian era the position of women, both in Judea and in the Roman Empire generally, was one of inferiority, as compared with that of men, in respect of social status, education, and influence. The very frequent and prominent mention of women in the Gospel narratives is therefore all the more noteworthy. The passage in which we are told that the disciples marvelled because Jesus was speaking with a woman (John iv. 27) stands by itself. Our Lord's teaching gives no support to the prevalent Jewish opinion upon the lower status of women. He addresses Himself to both sexes without distinction. His message is given as much to the women as to the men. Devoted women followed in His company, and ministered to His wants (Luke viii. 2-3). At the last, when the disciples had fled, women stood by Him at the cross. After the Resurrection, women were the first to receive the privilege of the manifestations of the Risen Lord. And it may safely be assumed that they were present in the upper chamber when "the lot fell upon Matthias" (Acts i. 15-26).

On the other hand, the Twelve Apostles were men; and the Seventy who were sent forth to preach the Kingdom were men. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was instituted in the presence of the Apostles only. The Apostolic commission recorded in John xx. 19-23 was delivered to men. The Evangelistic charge narrated in Matt. xxviii. 16-20 would appear to have been delivered to "the eleven disciples." These facts taken together are proof that there were functions and responsibilities which at the first our Lord assigned to men and did not assign to women. As

regards spiritual privilege there was entire equality between the sexes. As regards religious vocation and public duties there was no such identity. All branches of the Church have hitherto interpreted this testimony of the Gospels to mean that the government of the Church and the responsibility for the Ministry of the Word and the Sacraments were entrusted to men.

The chief passages in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles which bear upon the place and work of women in the Church may be said to confirm this view: Acts i. 14; v. 14; vi. 1; viii. 3, 12; ix. 2, 36-42; xii. 12 *ff.*; xvi. 14, 40; xvii. 4, 12, 34; xviii. 2, 18, 26; xxi. 5, 9; Rom. xvi. 1-4, 6, 7, 12, 13, 15; 1 Cor. i. 11; vii.; xi. 3-16; xiv. 34-36; xvi. 19; Eph. v. 22 *ff.*; Phil. iv. 2, 3; Col. iii. 18; 1 Tim. ii. 9-15; iii. 11; v. 2-15; 2 Tim. i. 5; Tit. ii. 2-5; Philem. 2; Jas. i. 27; 1 Pet. iii. 1-6; v. 13; 2 John; Rev. ii. 20.

On the Day of Pentecost and afterwards, women no less than men were partakers of the special gifts of the Spirit. There were women who prophesied as well as men (Acts xi. 28; xxi. 10; 1 Cor. xii. 28; xiv.). In 1 Cor. xi. 5 St. Paul considers the case of a woman "praying or prophesying with her head unveiled." It has been suggested that in 1 Cor. xiv. 34-40 he deals with the complaint that certain women had interrupted the gatherings of the faithful. But if we may judge from 1 Cor. xiv. 34, "Let the women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak," and 1 Tim. ii. 12, "But I permit not a woman to teach," the Apostle did not sanction teaching in public by women. The suggestion that 1 Cor. xiv. 34 is a later interpolation, on the ground that in certain authorities it appears after verse 40, does not seem warranted by the evidence.

In connection with this particular passage it may be worth while to observe, in passing, that the expressions "in the churches," "in the church" (1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35), have no reference to the buildings in which worship was conducted, but to the public assemblies, as distinct from the private gatherings, of Christians in the Apostolic age.

The special gifts of a woman who "prophesied" were not regarded as constituting any claim to take a share in the administration of the Churches. There is no evidence to show that women ever held the public offices of "teacher," "presbyter," or "bishop." The theory that

in 1 Tim. v. 2 there is a mention of "presbyteresses" is untenable. The conclusion seems to be, that, as indeed might have been expected, in New Testament times only men occupied positions in the Christian Church which carried with them the Ministry of Government and the responsibility for public instruction.

Women, however, were actively useful in employing private opportunities of instruction in the faith (*cf.* Acts xviii. 26). From an early time they were entrusted with what has been termed the Ministry of Service. Phœbe is mentioned by St. Paul as a deaconess of the Church of Cenchreæ (Rom. xvi. 1); and, later on, deaconesses seem to be recognised as a class of Church officials (1 Tim. iii. 11). Their office seems to have been to minister to those who were in distress or destitution. Moreover, as we may gather from 1 Tim. v. 9, 10, widows formed a separate class, and a list, or roll, of them was kept. These widows were pensioners supported by the Church, and their duty was to offer constant prayers. Such was perhaps also the chief duty of those whom St. Paul speaks of as "virgins" in 1 Cor. vii. 7.[1]

There are certain well-known passages *e.g.*, 1 Tim. ii. 11-15, 1 Pet. iii. 6—in which the Apostolic writers make use of arguments about women which are obviously coloured by the prevalent Rabbinic methods of exegesis; but they have no bearing upon the subject of the Ministry.

In his Epistles to the Galatians (iii. 28) and the Colossians (iii. 11) St. Paul teaches that in Christ every barrier is swept away; in Christ there is no room for the distinctions of race, rank, or even sex. But these mundane differences are indelible: and each variety has its opportunity of special service. They do not disappear on earth, although in Christ they are obliterated. In Him mankind is one family. Race and sex have their respective gifts to be dedicated and used. The work and calling of the sexes continue different, although in Christ there is neither male nor female.

The historic Ministry of the Church of Christ has been transmitted through the male sex from the days of the Apostles. This restriction of the priesthood may have been due to the fact that in those times women would not have been entrusted with official posts of public administration; it may have been due to the influence of Jewish usage in

[1] See the discussion of this in Dr. C. H. Turner's Appendix.

the Temple and Synagogue; it may have been due to the recognition of fundamental differences in function and calling inherent in the natural variety of sex. It is not our province to discuss these questions. We simply record the fact that the restriction of the Ministry of the priesthood to men originated in a generation which was guided by the special gifts of the Holy Spirit. The evidence of the New Testament is the evidence of that generation.

PART II

THE MINISTRATIONS OF WOMEN IN THE CHURCH FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT TO MODERN TIMES

History of Deaconesses since Apostolic Times.

Passing from New Testament times, the first evidence of importance is supplied by Pliny in his letter to Trajan, in which he refers to *ancillæ quæ vocantur ministræ*,[1] but the first mention of Christian women ministers is by Clement of Alexandria (*c.* A.D. 150-220), who refers to St. Paul's rules about the ministry of women (*διακόνων γυναικῶν*), and not to anything they did in his own time.[2] Origen (A.D. 185-254), commenting on Rom. xvi. 1, 2, says that this passage shows "that women also were set in the ministry (*διακονία*) of the Church; in which office Phœbe was placed in the Church which is in Cenchreæ."[3] But the early Fathers do not mention deaconesses or women-ministers as existing in their own days. From the time of Pliny's letter about A.D. 112 until the beginning of the third century at least, there is a period during which we know nothing of the ministry of women. And until the early part of the fourth century we are on uncertain ground. We come then to the period of the series of documents known as the "Church Orders," and including the *Apostolic Constitutions* so called, which are probably of some evidential value as to third-century practice, though belonging themselves to the following

[1] *Ep. lib.* x., xcvi. [2] *Strom.*, iii. 6, ed. Potter, I., p. 536.
[3] *In Ep. ad Rom.*, Book X., § 17.

century and later. Miss Cecilia Robinson comments on this as follows:

"Either (1) there was no continuous existence of the female diaconate in the strict sense, but in the third century the needs of the Church called for a revival of the office, and justified that revival by the words of St. Paul's Epistles; or (2) the order was in fact continuously in existence, though no occasion occurred to refer to it in the scanty literature which has survived from the locality to which we naturally look in our search for evidence."[1]

The same author goes on to point out that in subsequent legislation for deaconesses by General Councils and in the writings of the leading Greek Fathers and historians of the fourth and fifth centuries there is no hint of any lapse and subsequent revival of the order.

From the early part of the fourth century down to the eleventh century, or even later, we possess more or less continuous evidence of the existence of deaconesses, and much of this is fairly complete in regard to their nature and functions. After the period of the earlier "Church Orders" the patristic references are abundant. In the days of SS. Basil and John Chrysostom the number and importance of deaconesses in the East are beyond all question. The Councils of Nicæa (A.D. 325) and Chalcedon (A.D. 451) legislated for them, and St. John Chrysostom when in exile wrote letters to the well-known Olympias and other members of a body of forty deaconesses definitely attached to the great Church of Constantinople. St. Epiphanius describes their duties in Cyprus; Theodoret and Gregory of Nyssa refer to them as being at the head of bodies of virgins. We have here the beginnings of an identification of deaconess and abbess which becomes more clearly defined later on in the West. In the seventh century we again hear of the forty at St. Sophia, while at Antioch two women are each described as deaconess and abbess.[2] From the sixth century onwards we find them in the West, although not at Rome until later. In the eighth century they are mentioned there, while as late as the eleventh century three popes gave to the local bishops the right of ordaining them. But in earlier times, when their prominence is so striking in the East, there is no trace of them at Rome. This may perhaps explain the restrictive legislation of some local Gallican councils in the fifth and

[1] *Ministry of Deaconesses*, 2nd edition, p. 84. [2] See below, p. 119.

sixth centuries, which did not in actual fact prevent the existence of deaconesses in Gaul at the time. In the eleventh century an inscription to a deaconess named Aeria is almost contemporary with Balsamon's statements that they had ceased in his Church of Antioch, though still existing at Constantinople, and that the 15th Canon of Chalcedon concerning them was obsolete, while "by a misuse of words certain nuns are called deaconesses." Matthew Blastares (*c.* 1335), in quoting a service for ordaining deaconesses, says that scarcely anyone then knew what they did. Even later still there were deaconesses in the separated Eastern Churches, but in the Orthodox East they have been in abeyance since the Middle Ages. In the West some traces of the deaconess idea may be said to have survived in the consecrated nun long after the real deaconess had passed out of existence. To this day the Roman Pontifical contains a rubric directing the bishop to hand the breviary to a newly consecrated nun with "the faculty of beginning the canonical hours in place of the diaconate of women," thus admitting its former existence and connecting it with the singing of Divine Service. And a Carthusian consecrated nun is vested in stole and maniple and sings the liturgical gospel at mattins. Thus it would seem that the deaconess first became monastic, and then disappeared, leaving some scanty traces of what she once was. These are found more particularly in connection with consecrated nuns who themselves are now but rarely met with.

Functions.

In considering the work of deaconesses we are hampered by the fact that practice varied greatly from place to place and from time to time.

The following seems to be a fair summary of the duties performed by deaconesses:

1. *Acting as a servant of the bishop.* The *Apostolic Constitutions*[1] say that no women are to have any communication with the bishop except through the deaconess.

2. *Assisting at the baptism of women.* They anointed women at their baptism[2] and received the newly baptised

[1] *Ap. Const.*, ii. 26 (Funk, i. 105).

[2] *Older Didasc.*, iii. 12; Funk, *Didasc. et Const. Apost.*, i., p. 210. *Cf.* Hauler, *Verona Fragments*, pp. 49 *f.*; *Apost. Const.*, iii. 15 *f.*, v. 28 (Funk, i. 211, 531).

after immersion,[1] but they did not actually baptise. Thus in the *Syriac Didascalia*[2] we read:

"When women go down into the water, it is required that by a deaconess those who go down into the water should be anointed with the oil of anointing . . . where there is a woman, and yet more a deaconess, it is not necessary for women that they should be seen by men . . . a woman (that is a) deaconess . . . shall anoint the women; but a man shall mention over them the names of the invocation of the Godhead in the water."

3. *Carrying the Eucharist to the sick, and visiting them.* In the *Testamentum Domini* deacons administer both elements to the congregation and also to the sick. In the case of a sick woman the Eucharist is taken to her by the deaconess. The *Testamentum Domini* subordinates the deaconess to the widow in most things. This suggests that the deaconess was privileged to administer the reserved Eucharist in virtue of her order.[3]

The visiting of the sick and poor by deaconesses is mentioned in the *Apostolic Constitutions*[4] and by Epiphanius[5] and in times of persecution deaconesses also ministered to confessors in prison.[6]

4. *Teaching.* Sozomen refers to a virgin named Nicarete of Bithynia, who, though urged to do so by St. John Chrysostom, did not accept the office of deaconess or instructress of consecrated virgins.[7] Theodoret speaks of an Antioch deaconess teaching Christianity to a boy.[8]

Referring to baptism, the writer of the *Syriac Didascalia* says:

"When she that is baptised cometh up from the water, the deaconess shall receive her, and shall teach her and instruct her how the seal of baptism may be unbroken in chastity and holiness. For this cause we say there

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[1] *Eth. Didasc.*, *Older Didasc.*

[2] P. 69, *infra*.

[3] It is not easy to determine the exact value of this evidence, in view of the fact that private reservation of the Eucharist for reception at home was carried out in times of persecution by ordinary lay-folk. In this matter there seems to have been no distinction as between men and women. Later, when such reservation had long ceased in the case of the laity, it survived as a privilege of certain of the clergy, and also of a consecrated virgin, who in some places was directed to reserve for her own communion for a certain number of days after her consecration. This will be found more fully dealt with in Appendix XVI.

[4] iii. 16.

[5] *Hær.*, lxxix. 3.

[6] Cotel. *Annot. in Const. Ap.*, iii. 15, quoting Lucian and Libanius.

[7] *Hist. Eccles.*, viii. 23.

[8] *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 10.

A CHARTERHOUSE NUN, c. 1700.
Vested in stole and maniple at her consecration.

[*Facing p.* 8.

is the more need and necessity for the ministration of a woman (that is a) deaconess, because that our Lord and Saviour also was ministered to by ministering women."[1]

5. *Keeping the doors of churches.* Deaconesses kept the doors by which women entered the church, and arranged their places.[2]

Ordination.

The earliest evidence of the use of laying on of hands in the admission of deaconesses appears in the *Apostolic Constitutions* and its epitome, the *Constitutions through Hippolytus*. Later, its use is frequent and undoubted. Both words *χειροτονία* and *χειροθεσία* were used in the case of deaconesses, as they were of the other orders, but too much stress must not be laid on the employment of either term. *Χειροθεσία* is used where emphasis is laid on imposition of hands; *χειροτονία* does not necessarily imply it. Sozomen says that Nectarius ordained Olympias deaconess *διάκονον ἐχειροτόνησεν*.[3] The Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325, has an obscure reference to ex-Paulianist deaconesses, which seems to mean that, having been admitted without laying on of hands, they were to be regarded as unordained. At that time the same may possibly have applied to all deaconesses. In A.D. 451 the Council of Chalcedon speaks of deaconesses being ordained with imposition of hands. In Justinian's *Novels* the word used is *χειροθεσία*, and the same terms, " most reverend " and " venerable," are applied to them as to the bishops and other clergy, and their rank appears to be with deacons and before sub-deacons.

The form in the Greek Euchologion refers to Phœbe, and asks for the grace of the Holy Spirit. The service includes the laying on of the bishop's hands and investing with the stole. The chalice is handed to the deaconess, and she herself replaces it on the altar. The Italian form printed by Muratori includes the delivery of the stole. And in the consecration of a Carthusian nun the stole and maniple are delivered with the same words as are used in the ordination of a deacon.

[1] Trs. in *Ministry of Deaconesses*, p. 200. See 4th c. Carth. 398, Labbe and Cossart, II., col. 1201, Widows and Virgins, deaconesses not mentioned.

[2] *Ap. Const.*, ii. 57 and viii. 28; *Eth. Didasc.*, § 10; Pseudo-Ignat. Ant. 12, *c.* A.D. 400.

[3] *Hist. Eccles.*, viii 9.

Thus it would seem that from being at first, perhaps, merely an admission without χειροθεσία, like the minor orders, or like the admission of widows, the ordination of a deaconess developed into a real ordination strictly parallel to that of the male diaconate.

The Nature of the Diaconate of Women.

In our own day it seems to have been assumed rather too hastily that women have never been admitted to Holy Orders. The obvious meaning of the word *deaconess* has sometimes been discounted by comparison with the use of such words as *presbytera* for one who certainly was not a priestess.[1] But the evidence of the ordination forms in the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the older Greek Euchologia—and there is other evidence to support it—justifies the assumption that the diaconate they were intended to confer was as real a diaconate as that conferred upon men. It is true these rites are not identical with those used for men, but it is rash to attempt to draw any conclusive arguments from this, for the simple reason that liturgical rites for the same purpose vary so greatly.

The words used seem conclusive; in Book VIII. of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, though the prayer varies, the words εἰς διακονίαν are employed in the case of both men and women:

Deacon.	*Deaconess.*
A deacon shalt thou appoint, O Bishop, laying thy hands upon him, with all the Presbytery and the Deacons standing by thee; and praying over him thou shalt say: "Almighty God . . . make Thy face to shine upon this Thy servant which is appointed unto the office of a deacon (εἰς διακονίαν), and fill him with the Spirit and with power. . . ."	O Bishop, thou shalt lay thy hands upon her, with the Presbytery and the Deacons and the Deaconesses standing by; and thou shalt say: "Eternal God . . . look on this Thy handmaid, which is appointed unto the office of a deaconess (εἰς διακονίαν), and grant unto her the Holy Spirit. . . ."

In the service in the Greek Euchology the prayer that accompanies the laying on of hands runs thus:

"O Lord God, who dost not reject women who offer themselves in accordance with the Divine will to minister in Thy holy places, but admittest them into the rank of ministers (λειτουργοί), give the grace of Thy Holy Spirit even to this Thy handmaid, who desireth to offer herself to Thee, and to fulfil the grace of the ministry, as Thou didst give the grace of Thy ministry unto Phœbe. . . ."

[1] See Appendix III.

The late Dr. Lightfoot, Bishop of Durham, in his Primary Charge, wrote: "As I read my New Testament, the female diaconate is as definite an institution as the male diaconate. Phœbe is as much a deacon as Stephen or Philip is a deacon." As early as the fourth century St. Epiphanius, *c.* 376, certainly appears to regard deaconesses as part of the hierarchy,[1] and St. Basil speaks of them as consecrated.[2]

That the deaconess never did all the work of a deacon does not show that her diaconate was not as real. There were obvious restrictions on account of her sex. In the period under consideration nothing else would have been conceivable. But it was a restriction of function due to sex and circumstances, not a defect or absence of order. A parallel restriction is equally obvious in the case of a deacon who would not *normally* anoint a woman at baptism—*i.e.*, if a deaconess could be had.

Deaconesses among the Nestorians and Monophysites.

The Nestorians and Monophysites retained many ancient customs unconnected with the early heresies from which they took their names, but which remained in the more remote parts of the East after they had become disused in the Orthodox Churches. It is possible that the very extended privileges which deaconesses are known to have enjoyed in these ancient Churches may at one time have been much more widely spread, and it may therefore be worth while to notice them very briefly.

Deaconesses among the Nestorians supplied the place of deacons if the latter were absent, communicating women in the churches in both kinds. They read the Scriptures in assemblies of women, and in the absence of the clergy took care of the altar, the lamps, and the communicants' roll. Canon 11 of a Synod held in the Isle of Dârîn by the patriarch George I. says that deaconesses are to anoint adult women at their baptism, and to carry out such other things connected with the ceremony as decency requires.[3]

Among the Monophysites, in the sixth century, according to Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, and John Bar Cusus,

[1] *Hær.*, lxxix. 4; see also *Expositio Fidei*, c. 20.

[2] *Ep.*, 199, 44.

[3] Vacant et Mangenot, *Dict. de Theologie Catholique*, t. iv., where there is a reference to *Synodicon Orientale, ou Recueil de Synodes Nestoriens*, trad. J. B. Chabot Paris, 1902, p. 486.

Bishop of Tella or Constantine, abbesses were deaconesses, and in the absence of ordinary ministers had power to enter the sanctuary and say public prayers, giving the Holy Communion to their "religious" in their own churches, only in the form of the reserved sacrament, and not during the holy sacrifice, when they ought not to touch the holy table or approach the altar. John of Tella forbids the deaconess to give communion to boys over five years of age. Deaconesses presided at assemblies of women and read the Scriptures in them. In the absence of a priest or deacon they burnt incense, but without reciting the usual accompanying prayer aloud. If authorised to do so, they entered the sanctuary and tended altars and lamps. The bishop could permit them to pour the water and wine into the chalice for the Eucharist, but not to take part in the service at the altar,[1] being deaconesses, as St. James of Edessa says, not of the altar, but of sick women.

Age.

Tertullian says a deaconess must be sixty,[2] the Council of Chalcedon[3] says she must be forty, the Council of Trullo[4] forty, while fixing the minimum age for a widow at sixty (grounding this on 1 Tim. v. 9). Theodosius fixed it at sixty for a deaconess,[5] Justinian at forty[6] or fifty.[7]

Other Ministering Women, and the Relation of Deaconesses to them.

Other women are recorded as carrying out most of the functions of deaconesses; or rather it would be truer to say that the ministries which were performed by women were in some places performed by deaconesses, in others by women who were not deaconesses.

At Rome, where there seem to have been no deaconesses before the eighth century (p. 57 below), widows-president (as the chief widows were designated) anointed women

[1] See Appendix XVI., p. 298.
[2] *De Vel. Virg.*, c. 9. [3] c. 15. [4] cc. 14, 48.
[5] Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.*, vii. 16.
[6] *Novell.*, cxxiii., c. 13. [7] *Ib.*, vi. 6.

at baptism. In the *Acts of Judas Thomas* (third century) a nurse or other woman did this,[1] while in the so-called Gallican Statutes it is done by "widows or virgins consecrated to God." So, too, the teaching ministry of women was not a monopoly of deaconesses; Palladius[2] speaks of women teaching women. The *Testamentum Domini*, which mentions deaconesses taking the reserved Eucharist to the sick, contrasts them with widows-president, to whom they appear in it as inferior, and whose place it was to instruct deaconesses.[3]

Owing to misunderstanding in comparatively recent times considerable confusion has been caused by the identification of deaconesses and widows. Fuller treatment of this subject will be found in Dr. Collins's article in Appendix VII. Some of the difficulty has been due to confusion of the deaconess with the class from which she was taken.[4]

Restrictions.

A summary of the principal evidence as to restrictions placed from time to time upon the ministrations of women may here be attempted.

Tertullian says that it is not permitted to women to speak in church, nor to baptise, nor to offer (*offerre*=offer oblations), nor perform the duties that belong to men

[1] Connolly, *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, pp. xlii *f.*

[2] *Hist. Lausiaca*, §§ 46, 54, ed. Butler.

[3] I, 19, 23, 35, 40.

[4] Deaconesses appear to have been drawn from two classes—viz., virgins and widows. So we find in *Apostolic Constitutions* (vi. 17). The fourth Council of Carthage, c. 12, speaks of widows and consecrated virgins selected to discharge the duties of deaconesses, and St. Epiphanius enumerates three classes as supplying them—namely, virgins, widows of one husband, and married women living in continence (*Exp. Fid.*, n. 21). The last may be further explained in the allusion by the Council of Trullo (*Conc. Quinisext.*, c. 48) to widows of bishops who had retired into convents. Tertullian complains that virgins under twenty are made widows, and Epiphanius says deaconesses are called χήρας, but that the elder deaconesses (τὰς ἔτι γραντέρας) are called πρεσβύτιδας, and notes that this is not the same as πρεσβυτερίδας (*Hær.*, 79, c. 4; *cf. Conc. Laod.*, c. 11). St. Basil speaks of women taken into the number of widows—that is, received by the Church into the diaconate (*Ep. Can.*, c. 3). St. Ignatius, too, has τὰς παρθένους τὰς λεγομένας χήρας.

Such evidence as this shows (1) that because deaconesses were so frequently drawn from widows they were often called by that name, or else (2) that the duties of widows and deaconesses were so similar as to cause confusion. But it also seems clear that the widow and the deaconess were not really identical, though the high age-limit would no doubt help to cause confusion to the popular mind. The age-limit and the title of widow

(*virile munus*),[1] and he is indignant at women who presume to teach and baptise, contrary to the command of the Apostle.[2] The *Apostolic Constitutions*[3] say that women are not to baptise, that priestesses were ordained for female deities, and are heathen and not Christian, and that if our Lord had wished women to baptise, He would have been baptised by His mother, and not by John the Baptist. The so-called Gallican Statutes,[4] and the *Older Didascalia*,[5] also forbid women to christen, and so does the *Ethiopic Didascalia*, except in case of necessity.[6] But St. Isidore of Seville says that those baptised by women are not to be rebaptised.[7] Johannes Moschus says it is contrary to the canons except in the last extremity.[8] Although it is well known that in later times the validity of baptism by women has been generally recognised in the Church, it is spoken of as a disputed question by Hugh of St. Victor as late as the twelfth century.

The *Testamentum Domini*, which exalts widows, forbids widows-president to speak in church;[9] so also do the *Apostolic Constitutions*;[10] in the *Older Didascalia* women are not to teach at all,[11] and the *Ethiopic Didascalia* reminds its readers that "our Lord did not send out women to preach." The Gallican Statutes[12] forbid them to teach in an assembly of men.

In his *Catechetical Lectures*, St. Cyril of Jerusalem says that women are not to pray or sing aloud in church,[13] and the Council of Laodicea forbids them to approach the altar.[14]

The first Council of Toledo, A.D. 400, forbids a "professa," or widow, to sing anthems in her own house in the absence of the bishop or priest.[15]

The Armenian patriarch Nerses (A.D. 353-373) says women are not to assist at baptism as deacons, a prohibition

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may have commended the latter order to the women of senatorial rank in Rome to the exclusion of the diaconate, which in its name suggested a position of service rather than of dignity, while it did not give the holder any very wide accession of power. Hence, perhaps, the sequel that in Rome and in places specially open to Roman influence we do not find the deaconess.

[1] *De Vel. Virg.*, 9. [2] *De Bapt.*, 17. [3] iii. 9.

[4] c. 99: Mulier quamvis docta et sancta, viros in conventu docere, vel aliquos baptizare, non præsumat (Hefele, *Councils*, ii. 410 *sq.*).

[5] iii. 9. [6] § 13. [7] Augusti, *Denk.*, p. 115.

[8] *Practica Spirituale*, c. 3.

[9] i. 40. [10] iii. 6.

[11] iii. 6; *cf.* Tertullian. [12] c. 99.

[13] *Int.*, 14. [14] c. 44.

[15] Labbe and Cossart, *Concilia*, ii., col. 1225.

repeated by Isaac the Great (either A.D. 390-441 or 387-449).[1]

The *Apostolic Constitutions* say that women cannot bless,[2] and abbesses were forbidden by Charles the Great to bless, or to lay hands on anyone,[3] and in A.D. 825 a Council at Paris forbade an abbess to consecrate nuns.[4]

Gelasius, as proof of popular contempt for religion, complains that "women are appointed to minister at the sacred altars." And the Isidorian Decretals attribute to Pope Soter a law forbiding women to touch the sacred vessels or consecrated *pallia*, or to carry incense around the altars.

Anciently, as is well known, the faithful of both sexes offered the elements required for the Eucharist, either to be used at that service or subsequently. The making of the oblation had an intimate relation to the reception of the Eucharist. Sometimes women offered at the altar, but sometimes they are forbidden to do this, and they make their offering outside the sanctuary. Hence in Theodore's *Penitential* we find, according to one reading, that women are not to offer at the altar, while according to another reading, in churches of women religious they are to minister at the *confessio*—that is, below the altar-steps in a basilican church—a note also stating that women can make oblations according to the Greeks, but not according to the Romans. At Milan to this day an ancient guild of old men and women make oblations of bread and wine at the offertory at High Mass in the metropolitan church, but the women do not enter the sanctuary.[5]

The Ministrations of Women Religious in and after the Middle Ages.

When the deaconess of early times had finally become absorbed in the abbess or consecrated nun, we find no ministrations of women outside the religious orders. Within those orders such ministrations are the rule, to such a degree, in fact, that nuns of all the older orders have themselves carried out the full choir services of the Church, exactly

[1] Denzinger, *Rit. Or.*, i. 22. [2] viii. 28.

[3] *Capit. Car. Mag.*, A.D. 798, c. 76; *Concil. Francofurt.*, A.D. 793, c. 46.

[4] cc. 41, 43. *Cf.* second Council of Carthage, c. 3, "puellarum consecratio a presbytero non fiat," or, as modified in third Council, not without consent of the bishop. See Thomassin, *Vet. et Mod. Eccles. Disc.*, i. 13, c. 50, §§ 11, 12.

[5] See Appendix XVI.

as in choirs of men, with certain ceremonial exceptions. They have also carried out the majority of processions themselves, and have admitted and clothed novices, and even read the whole of the Burial Service. Detailed evidence on this head will be found in Appendix IX.

In all cases, of course, chaplains of one kind or another have celebrated the Eucharist, administered it to the sick (except in earlier times), blessed such things as candles on Candlemas Day, palms on Palm Sunday, and the like, and acted as deacon and subdeacon. Indeed, some great nunneries like Shaftesbury kept clerks expressly for the purpose of being gospeller and epistoler. But we find no provision for men being maintained to do the rest of the ministrations of the altar, so it may be legitimate to assume that in a house like Shaftesbury much of the ministration at High Mass, with regard to incense, lights, and the like, would be done by the nuns themselves, though no doubt with some restriction as to the actual approach to the altar. Certainly the whole management and arrangement of the church and its services was in their hands, and the nun who was sacristan was responsible for their being properly carried out.

In later times, on the Continent male clerks or servers were brought into some convents of women, in order that the ceremonial should be carried out more or less as in other churches. In many of the newer religious orders the whole of the choir services are not said, the sisters only being required to use the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary: in such cases as these the full system described above cannot be looked for.

Ecclesiastical Powers of Women.

The part taken by women religious in the services of the Church involves their relations with the chaplains who served them, and who occupied a more or less subordinate position in the economy of the house. The whole conception of the place of women as such in the Church is also involved. The heads of nunneries, and chapters of nuns had very considerable powers, which extended to their relations with the clergy who had the cure of souls in parish churches the revenues of which were appropriated to the convent. In cases like these, women exercised a considerable

amount of such ecclesiastical rule as is generally associated with bishops, or at least abbots.

It would seem that alike in the matter of the taking of services and in the exercise of these powers of government, the threefold monastic vow was not the ground of action, but rather the possession of a semi-clerical status, akin to that of the minor orders. For canonesses, some of whom were not under the threefold monastic vow, had similar services in their churches, and enjoyed similar powers to those of Benedictine and Cistercian nuns.[1]

Intimately connected with the question of the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by women religious is that of double monasteries, in which religious of both sexes lived under the rule of the abbess. Here the first point to be noted is that none of these houses seems to have been under an abbot; where there are both sexes, it is the abbess who is the superior. This indicates that such houses were essentially nunneries. Mr. Hamilton Thompson, in his careful examination of this question which we have printed as Appendix VIII., comes to the conclusion that the male portion of these communities was subsidiary, and existed to do those things which canonical and physical disabilities prevented the nuns from doing. In Saxon times these male sections consisted of priests who ministered to the nuns in spiritual things and lay-brethren who did the harder manual work. When we come to the great Benedictine revival of later Saxon times the organised male community disappears, and the nuns have merely chaplains and male servants. Later on there is a distinct return to the earlier idea, and in the case of a few of the greater women's houses, such as Shaftesbury, Wilton, and Lacock, a small college of secular canons existed in connection with the nunnery, the canons being supported by the revenues of churches appropriated to the monastery as their prebends. In course of time, as in the case of other secular canons, pluralism increased, and the canons became non-resident, their duties being carried out by chaplains whom they paid as substitutes. The smaller nuns' houses of the later Middle Ages were simply served by chaplains paid from the common revenue; but the uncertainty of such ministrations, with the need of manual labour, seems to

[1] For a fuller treatment of the subject of Canonesses see Appendices IX., p. 171, and XVI., p. 309.

have led in some places to another revival of the old idea of an organised male community.

Thus the Arroasian Congregation of the Austin Canons and the Premonstratensians or Reformed Augustinians contemplated the double system, and in the English order of Sempringham, founded by St. Gilbert, it was successfully carried out. Here each house consisted of a convent of nuns following the Cistercian rule and a convent of canons regular who acted as their chaplains. Each sex had its own cloister, and each had access to the church, which was divided into two parallel choirs, with two altars. *Conversi* and *conversæ*—that is, lay-brethren and lay-sisters—did the manual labour. Lay-brothers are also found—evidently for the same purpose—in some of the smaller English nunneries following the Cistercian rule.

A final effort at realising the ideal of the double monastery is instanced by the Brigettine order which arose in Sweden in the fourteenth century, and was represented in England by Henry V.'s great foundation of Syon.[1] "That ideal," says Mr. Hamilton Thompson, "was not the co-ordination of the sexes in one house as the normal feature of the monastic life. It was the provision for communities of nuns of a permanent staff of clergy vowed to the religious life, who could perform for the sisters services from the performance of which they themselves were debarred, and of lay-brothers who, while devoted to religious observances, could do work for which the nuns were physically unfitted."

The conclusion, so far as our present purpose is concerned, is that sex was no bar to the exercise of those powers which included the regulation of these double houses, the arrangement of the lives of their male inmates, the appointment of canons and chaplains, and the oversight of lands and temporalities. In the case of most nunneries communication with the world was maintained by the cellaress, temporalities were administered by nuns called bursars, and the services were controlled by the precentrix.

In another Appendix evidence is given to show that in the matter of services the nuns themselves said and sung all the ordinary choir services, the chaplains only being required for the celebration of the Eucharist and the hearing of confessions.

It is questionable how far it is true to say that abbesses

[1] Some extracts from the fifteenth century Syon rules will be found in Appendix XVI., p. 315.

have taken part in Church Councils. There are cases in which abbesses signed the decrees of local councils, notably that at Bapchild, near Sittingbourne, in Kent, *c.* A.D 696-716, when an important grant of privileges was made to churches and monasteries in Kent by King Wihtred. Here we may note that the gathering was of civil as well as of ecclesiastical importance, and that the abbesses signing the decree were princesses. While it may be said on the one hand that these cases prove nothing but the powers accorded to royalty, it may be pointed out on the other that sex was not a bar to the exercise of such powers, which unquestionably had considerable ecclesiastical as well as civil effect. Numerous instances could be quoted of important documents being signed by female members of the royal house, in addition to the king and other male members, dealing with matters more or less concerned with ecclesiastical discipline. There are also cases of special personal influence, such as that of St. Hilda, where learning and ability, coupled with high position in the State, gave the head of a religious house enormous power in matters of civil and ecclesiastical administration. Another not dissimilar case is that of St. Margaret of Scotland, who at a later date (A.D. 1093) is said to have been the author of the most far-reaching changes and reforms in the Church. Here, again, sex was not an obstacle to wide powers and effective action, however hard it may be to determine their exact nature.

Later on, when the feudal system developed, the abbess was liable for the king's service, though by proxy, because of her sex and vows, and she therefore had lordship over the fiefs of the convent, with consequent power and responsibility.

A Short Summary of Conclusions upon Early and Mediæval Developments.

To sum up:

We find no evidence for the admission of women to the priesthood. Save among heretical or obscure sects, there have been no Christian priestesses.

But this is not to say that women have never been admitted to any form of Holy Orders, still less that they have not been allowed to take any part in the formal liturgical services of the Church, or that they have had no power in things ecclesiastical. The deaconess, the abbess,

and the churches of women religious, whether nuns or canonesses, afford irrefutable evidence to the contrary.

It would be rash to attempt any definite statement as to the stages in the early development of the order, but before the end of the fourth century we find the deaconess the same as the deacon in regard to order, albeit restricted in regard to function. And some at least of her functions were fulfilled in certain places by other women of some definitely religious status. Custom, always very varied in early times, was of necessity specially variable as regards women. From the earliest days two tendencies are at work, the one recognising the deaconess and giving to her and other women definite parts in the administration of the sacraments and services of the Church, and the other ignoring the deaconess or curtailing her position, and limiting to the minimum the share of women in church services.

But notwithstanding local variations of practice and long disuse, it is beyond all question that the diaconate of women had a very real existence. There has been no decision of the Church as a whole against it. No council of importance has condemned it. And it is impossible to maintain that the disuse has been of so complete or decisive a nature as to render the revival of the order incompetent to any part of the Church.

Women in religious orders, not only nuns under the threefold monastic vow, but also canonesses not under such vows,[1] have said and sung—and still say and sing—the choir services of the Church, with varying degrees of ceremonial solemnity, not only when entirely alone, but also when clergymen have been regularly present who could have been used as substitutes. They have said and sung the services of the processional, and have even taken the Burial Service. They have ministered with cross, lights, and incense. Even though restricted in actually approaching the altar, they have given assistance to the clergy in their ministrations within the church. Such restrictions seem to have been chiefly of a formal and technical character.

In cases of necessity sex has not been a bar either to the administration of baptism by women or to their taking the reserved Eucharist to the sick, or indeed, in the private reservation of early times, to their handling of the sacred species for the purpose of communion.

[1] See Appendices IX., p. 171, and XVI., p. 309.

A CANONESS REGULAR OF CHAILLOT, near PARIS, c. 1700.
Wearing short surplice and carrying fur almuce.

[*Facing p.* 20.

The clerical character of certain women religious has been emphasised by their wearing of surplice or rochet, by the use of the fur almuce, and in the case of Carthusian consecrated nuns even by the wearing of maniple and stole. The power of jurisdiction enjoyed by certain abbesses has been indicated outwardly by their use of the crozier and even of the mitre. The sacred vestments placed upon the king at his coronation have in this country also been given to queens-regnant.[1]

Certain abbesses of great religious houses unquestionably exercised a large amount of effective control in ecclesiastical matters, not only within the large communities subject to their care, but also to some extent over the clergy and people in parishes dependent on the house. They were not debarred from such administration because of sex. They had also extensive disciplinary powers over their own communities in all matters concerning obedience to the rule of the order and the statutes and customs of the house.

Except as regards baptism and instruction, there is no evidence that women ever had any part in the ordinary public ministrations to mixed congregations. Even in churches of the religious orders women do not seem to have been allowed to preach or teach openly. In the conducting of Divine Service in parish churches deaconesses and women religious have had no part, such as has been theirs in the choir services in churches of their own religious orders. Here the restriction obviously depends, not upon the lack of priesthood, but upon the place of women in society as a whole. When we recall the evidence afforded by religious houses in which women have taken part in liturgical services in the presence of chaplains who could have taken these parts had this been necessary, it seems clear that, as far as precedent goes, the actual presence of a man is no bar to such ministrations by women.

PART III

MODERN DEVELOPMENTS

In modern times a great change has taken place. The work that has been done for the Church by women has been continually increasing. This has been due partly to the

[1] See Appendix IX., p. 178.

more civilised and settled conditions of national life; partly to the spread of education; partly to the improvement of communications; but chiefly, no doubt, to the growth of the desire among women themselves to take a more prominent share of responsibility in the activities of the Church of Christ, and to their proved ability to render essential service. It has slowly become recognised that the influence of women both in the State and in the Church, both for social and for religious progress, is of incalculable value. The great names of Hannah More, Elizabeth Fry, Mary Carpenter, Florence Nightingale, Octavia Hill, Josephine Butler, illustrate lines of beneficent social reform along which women have been actively occupied.

In the Church of England it would not be too much to say that the immense expansion of activity and of efficiency in ministering to the religious needs of the people has been due, if primarily to a quickened consciousness of their calling among the clergy, yet scarcely less to the wonderful work accomplished by the mainly voluntary efforts of women. In a very large proportion of the parishes of England and Wales, during the last seventy years, under the different heads of district-visiting, Sunday-school teaching, Church music, parochial clubs, missionary societies, study circles, rescue and preventive agencies, besides the larger organisations represented by the Sisterhoods and the Deaconess Institutions, by the Girls' Friendly Society and the Mothers' Union, an extraordinary amount of good work has been quietly and unostentatiously, voluntarily and gratuitously, achieved by women. Among the unrecorded Saints of the Church of Christ, there are hundreds of names of wives, widows, and daughters of clergymen, and of single women, who in obscurity have dedicated their lives and their substance to the promotion of the kingdom of God in our own country and in heathen lands.

The Church has gratefully acknowledged the services which women have rendered. At Diocesan Conferences, Church Congresses, and meetings of the Houses of Convocation and of the Representative Church Council, there has been abundant readiness to acknowledge the obligations which the Church is under for what women have done. But there has been little or no official recognition of women's work in the Church. It has too generally been assumed that women's work should be gratuitous, and that they could have no

defined status in the organisation of diocese or parish. Even the female missionary has been sent out to her duties in distant countries, after being approved indeed, and accepted by missionary societies, but without status in the Church and without authorisation from the archbishops or bishops.

In recent years a feeling of unrest and dissatisfaction has arisen among the women of the Church. It may be traced to a variety of causes. But there are probably two which have occasioned the greatest amount of complaint:

(1) It is said that in every department of modern life openings are now made for the employment of trained and educated women, with a living wage; but that the Church makes no such provision. Neither does she insist on definite preparation and training for church and social work. That being so, the sympathy and interest of thousands of young women, who would naturally be rejoiced to have such opportunities for useful religious service, will shortly either be altogether alienated or in a large measure diverted into other channels. The loss to the Church will be most serious.

(2) It is claimed that not only duly remunerated work, but a share in responsibility and status, should be accorded to women; and, more particularly, that some definite recognition should be granted of woman's capacity for ministerial office.

At the present time it is competent for a woman to hold the position of churchwarden, and there are numerous instances in which a woman has discharged these duties with entire efficiency.

Quite recently, also the Representive Church Council has agreed that the franchise for the election to parochial councils should include women, baptised and confirmed, and not being members of other religious denominations. Proposals are also being submitted to the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury that women should receive all rights or privileges granted to laymen.

The Modern Revival.

The modern revival of women's ministry as represented by the deaconess office has taken place among the Reformed Communions, not, however, without impulses from the example of the religious communities of the Roman obedience, more especially some of the

more modern orders. After sporadic attempts in various quarters, the first systematic advance was made in 1836 by Theodor Fliedner of Kaiserswerth, who, from the Lutheran standpoint, set out to "restore the Apostolic office of deaconess." The Union of Deaconess Houses connected with the Kaiserswerth foundation is now estimated to contain a membership of over 20,000 "sisters," the majority of whom are employed in the service of the sick.

The example of this Continental movement, and of the sisterhood movement in the English Church initiated by Dr. Pusey, helped to stimulate the revival of the deaconess office in the English Church. Its principal advocate was Dean Howson of Chester, and later, Bishop Lightfoot and Bishop Thorold gave the movement strong support.

In 1862, the year in which Dean Howson published his book on "Deaconesses," the Bishop of London, Dr. Tait, admitted Elizabeth Ferard as a deaconess. She had already visited Kaiserswerth and worked in a sisterhood at Ditchingham, and after her admission founded a home for deaconesses in West London. The diocesan deaconess houses so far established have been as follows: West London, 1862; Ely (at Bedford) and Chester, 1869; Canterbury, 1874; Salisbury, 1875; Winchester (at Portsmouth), 1879; East London, 1880; Durham, 1883; Rochester, 1887; Exeter, 1890; Southwsrk (at Clapham), 1891; Llandaff, 1893; Newcastle, 1905; and Chichester. Of these fourteen houses two (Canterbury and Salisbury) have been closed, and two (Rochester and Southwark) amalgamated. Of the ten still at work, three (East and West London and Chichester) are sisterhoods whose members are also admitted as deaconesses. Generally speaking the students are trained for home work, but at Portsmouth and Clapham a considerable proportion are prepared for work in dioceses overseas. Some 282 deaconesses have been trained by these houses, and of these about 183 are now at work. About 40 students are now in training.

The Mildmay Deaconess Home in North London represents a less definitely ecclesiastical movement, due to the Rev. William Pennefather, vicar of Christ Church, Barnet, and to Catherine his wife, who were inspired by Fliedner's work at Kaiserswerth, and founded the home in 1860 for training women missionaries. In 1864 it was removed to Mildmay Park, where Mr. Pennefather had become vicar

of St. Jude's. In 1861 the Bishop of London allowed the women trained in this institution to be called deaconesses, though only a few were episcopally admitted. The Mildmay house has now been reconstructed on a definitely Church basis, and is now known as St. Catherine's House. Some ninety of its members have hitherto been admitted by their bishops, and other members are now offering themselves for ordination.

It is to be regretted that the revival of the ancient order of deaconesses, which was begun under the auspices mainly of Dean Howson and Bishops Lightfoot and Thorold nearly half a century ago, has only partially been successful. The Church as a whole has not understood the movement; and the name " deaconess " has undoubtedly been compromised by a vague use of the title as well as by the ordinary misconception of the order of the diaconate in the Church of England, and by the position of deacons in certain non-episcopal denominations.

Valuable service was rendered to the cause by the publication of the book *The Ministry of Deaconesses*, by Deaconess Cecilia Robinson, with an Appendix on the early history of the order by her brother, Dr. Armitage Robinson.

The revived order of deaconesses is now recognised in the dioceses above named, where houses have been established, and also in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Lahore, Sydney, Toronto, Jamaica, and Christchurch, N.Z.

The deaconess is admitted by the bishop of the diocese in which she is to be licensed to work. The Ceremony of Admission consists of presentation by the head-deaconess or by some suitable person who vouches for the candidate's character, standard of knowledge, and training, the laying on of hands by the bishop using the prescribed formula, with prayers which follow certain lines and preserve certain features of close resemblance to the ancient service.

The deaconess works under the bishop in the parish to which she is licensed. Whether her work be carried on by her living alone or in a community is immaterial. It will depend upon the conditions under which her ministry is carried on. In densely populated districts the plan of living together in a small community has been found most advantageous for the purpose of their work both by men and by women. But in the majority of parishes there is no scope for a community, while there is abundance of work

that can be done, and done best, by a trained and qualified deaconess in touch with the Mother House, working on the staff of the incumbent and holding her licence, like one of the assistant clergy, from the bishop of the diocese.

The deaconess before being admitted to ordination is required to go through a careful and thorough course of preparation, usually of two years' duration, at a recognised deaconess institution, where instruction is given in theological subjects, in practical *pastoralia*, educational theory and practice, and social science; while attention is paid to the maintenance of devotional habits and good discipline.

The deaconess wears a regular uniform by which her work and position can at once be identified.

She is subject to no vows, save to those which are involved in the promises made by her at the time of her ordination. In her parochial ministrations she holds her position as one of the "clergy," serving under the command of the incumbent, and owning direct allegiance to the bishop of the diocese, without whose permission she cannot move from her parish or undertake fresh work.

Instead of parochial work, a deaconess may also be ordained for the discharge of special duties, spiritual and intellectual, in schools, hostels, and colleges, both at home and in the Dominions. And it is obvious that in the near future there will be openings for great usefulness in the elementary and secondary education of the country.

In the great majority of the dioceses in the Church of England and in India deaconesses are under an understanding that they are not to marry. The head-deaconesses in our English dioceses consider that deaconesses, though not bound by any vows, should pledge themselves to remain unmarried. They hold that (1) marriage, with its care of a household, the disabilities attendant upon childbirth and the bringing up of a young family, would be incompatible with the activities of a deaconess's life. They also feel that a married deaconess would have to surrender a large part of her ministerial duties, and that she could not give herself to her work without distractions arising from the call of home responsibilities which it would be wrong for her to neglect. And they believe that (2) in her own interests the deaconess is greatly indebted to this prohibition, because she enters upon her duties deliberately surrendering all contemplation of matrimony, and wherever she goes, whatever she under-

takes, she has no need to allow such ideas to enter within her horizon of thought. And those who are called to work with her know that marriage with her is not a thing to be thought of; many social difficulties are at once disposed of; many causes of distraction, of ill-natured gossip, of idle folly, are summarily excluded. This point of view will be found more fully explained in Appendix XI.

On the other hand, the diocesan deaconess houses in Australia, Canada, and the West Indies, some of whose members are working in England, confine the obligations of the deaconess to the promises made by her in the service of admission, and hold that it is ethically undesirable to add a secondary obligation, not inherent in the office, to the essential pledges which it entails. The American Church, in its canon on deaconesses, provides that the appointment by the bishop of a deaconess "shall be vacated by marriage." The deaconesses referred to are agreed in taking up the office as a life-work, but they believe that the vocation of marriage, like that of the care of relatives or other family calls, may legitimately suspend the exercise of the deaconess office for a longer or a shorter time. They also hold that history conclusively proves that the married woman may in the future, as she has in the past, perform the most vital and decisive services in the ministry of the Church. The arguments are set out in Appendices VII. and X.

It has generally been considered undesirable that the age of admission to the order of deaconesses should be lower than twenty-eight or thirty.

The ministry of a deaconess is intended to be a calling for life. It is entitled, no less than that of a clergyman, to a living wage. And in some deaconess homes wise provision is made so as to ensure in old age a pension and a home of rest when physical powers have begun to fail.

As yet there is no official definition of a deaconess in the Church of England, nor of her powers or work. Nor is there any one authorised form of ordination. The "Principles and Rules" suggested by two archbishops and eighteen bishops in 1871 define a deaconess as "a woman set apart by a bishop, under that title, for service in the Church." A Committee of the Lambeth Conference of 1897 welcomed the revival of the office, and insisted on regular admission, adequate training, and uniformity in procedure. Another Lambeth Committee in 1908 reported against authoritative

direction, and asked for delay so as to allow of local development.

At the present time the deaconesses of the Anglican Communion overseas may number between three and four hundred, and those in England up to three hundred.

On Licensed Workers.

While the modern revival of the Ministry of Women in the Church finds its most intimate expression in the office of deaconess it is even more largely represented, in point of numbers, by the class of Church workers (many of them licensed by their bishops), who have not proceeded to episcopal admission but have received the same training as the deaconess, and perform substantially the same functions. In the returns of English Diocesan Deaconess Houses, besides the 183 deaconesses now at work, 61 licensed workers are enumerated, and Head-Deaconess Siddall writes: "Deaconesses and licensed workers are a very small proportion of the number trained in this house (Portsmouth). I have not a complete record, but the number would not be short of four hundred, I believe." If to this we add workers trained at Mildmay and various other centres, it is clear that the number of qualified, and in many cases recognised, workers (in missionary dioceses recognition is universal) greatly exceeds that of deaconesses. The careful co-ordination of this large class with the deaconess order, so as to strengthen the work of both and help to bring out the specific character of the deaconess office, is engaging the attention of the responsible authorities.

Sisterhoods.

This section of our Report ought not to conclude without some expression of grateful recognition of the careful organisation and devoted self-denial which for the last seventy years have been exhibited by our Anglican Sisterhoods in their work of ministration to the poor and destitute in our large urban populations. We find that any adequate enquiry into the history and work of Sisterhoods would fall outside the limits of our terms of reference.

This brief statement will account for the omission of any detailed reference to this important branch of the Ministry of Women in modern times.

A BENEDICTINE NUN OF BYGHARD LE GRAND, 18th cent.

Wearing full surplice as part of ordinary dress.

[*Facing p.* 28.

APPENDIX I

THE MINISTRIES OF WOMEN IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

By the Rev. A. J. Mason, D.D., Canon of Canterbury.

The position of women and their ministries in the Church of Apostolic times have been so often and so thoroughly discussed that it is not necessary to examine the subject at great length in this Report. Nevertheless, whether the New Testament be regarded as the oldest historical evidence for primitive Christianity or as the authoritative embodiment of Christian doctrine, it would be impossible to present a report on the ministries of women without some preliminary reference to the testimony of the Apostolic writers.

And in order to understand the testimony of the Apostolic writers, it is important to form some estimate of the position of women in the religious life of mankind, and especially in that of Israel, when our Lord came into the world.

Among the Gentile nations of the West the influence of women in religion is known to have been great. It will be sufficient to point to the often-quoted passage of Strabo (vii. 3): "All are agreed in considering women to be the prime movers of religious opinion and sentiment. They draw the men on to more zealous observance of the gods, to festivals and impassioned supplications." The Roman world was accustomed to the thought of women devotees, of mysteries in which women took the principal part. Vestal virgins, priestesses of various divinities, Sibyls and pythonesses, were familiar figures. It would have given no shock to converts from among the heathen if they had found in Christianity some counterpart of these women officials and women oracles. Whether to any extent they were actually found in Gentile Churches may perhaps be more clearly ascertained hereafter. Meanwhile, however, it is certain that the institutions and customs of the primitive Church, even in Gentile quarters, were derived in the main, not from Gentile religious usages, but from those of Judaism.

The position of women in the Judaism of Apostolic times is somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand they inherited great traditions of power and influence, especially in religion. A woman, a married woman, had been numbered among the Judges. A woman, certainly not among the best of her sex, had been recognised as queen of the Southern Kingdom. It would perhaps be beside the point to recall that the queen-mother who was practically queen (1 Kings xv. 13), the "great woman" (2 Kings iv. 8), the "wise woman" (2 Sam. xiv. 2), the heroine, like Judith, were well known in Jewish literature; Schechter (p. 383) speaks of "the 'twenty-two' heroines and prophetesses who form part of the glory of Jewish history." Such personages, however eminent, belong to the domestic and secular side of life.

It is more to the purpose to remember that the prophetess had her place beside the prophet. Miriam is called a prophetess, and set on the same eminence as her brothers, Moses and Aaron (Exod. xv. 20; Num. xii. 2; Mic. vi. 4). Deborah was a prophetess as well as a judge (Judg. iv. 4), and doubtless the great Song of Deborah and Barak is given as an example of her inspiration, as, indeed, that of Miriam is of hers. "The prophetess" in Isaiah (Isa. viii. 3) can hardly be an honorific description of a prophet's wife; it is more natural to suppose that the mother of Isaiah's son was a partaker of her husband's gift. In the days of Josiah "Huldah the prophetess" (2 Kings xxii. 14) was the highest authority whom the king and the high-priest could consult in a matter of spiritual interpretation. A less noble part was borne in the days of Nehemiah by "the prophetess Noadiah" (Neh. vi. 14), singled out among "the rest of the prophets" who endeavoured to arrest the rebuilding of Jerusalem. One recognised representative of the order was still alive to greet the birth of the Christ; and if the title of "prophetess" is expressly assigned by St. Luke to Anna only (ii. 36), it is assigned by implication to Elizabeth (i. 41, *cf.* i. 67), and can hardly be withheld, on similar grounds, from the authoress of the *Magnificat*.

In several of these instances the gifts of the prophetess were manifested in the utterance of inspired songs. The mother of Samuel (1 Sam. ii. 1) might well be included among the number of inspired singers. For more ordinary purposes singing women, as well as singing men, were attached to the Temple (Neh. vii. 67) at one time, though Edersheim (*The Temple*, p. 56) says that in Herod's Temple they were superseded by boys. "If we were to trust a certain passage in the 'Chapters' of R. Eliezer, we might perhaps conclude that, during the first Temple, the wives

of the Levites formed a part of the choir, but the meaning of the passage is too obscure and doubtful for us to be justified in basing on it so important an inference" (Schechter, p. 385). The functions of women, in celebrating a great event with songs and dances, was plainly acknowledged in Hebrew literature. When the Psalm says, "The Lord gave the word; great was the company of the preachers," it is well known that the word for "preachers" is feminine (Ps. lxviii. 11, *cf.* verse 25, and see Exod. xv. 20; Judg. xi. 34; 1 Sam. xviii. 6). If these female preachers proclaimed glad tidings it was doubtless in lyric utterances like those above referred to. Such "preaching," of course, was no official function. There was no official "preaching" of religion among the Israelites, whether by men or by women, in the great days of the nation; and when the synagogue became the usual place of religious assembly, and addresses on religious subjects became customary, women do not seem to have been called upon to give them. There was great freedom in the matter, as we know from Philo (*de Septen.*, p. 282 *M.*), as well as from the New Testament (Luke iv. 16, 20; Acts xiii. 14 *f.*). Anyone who seemed likely to have anything to contribute to the edification of the congregation might expect to be invited to speak, but no instance is on record of a woman addressing the synagogue.

There are not wanting indications that what have been called "synagogue honours" were occasionally bestowed upon women. It is true that Schürer (*Jewish People*, Div. II., vol. ii., p. 65) says that it was only in "later times," and that the distinction was a "mere title," but he mentions an instance of a woman being described as "ruler of the synagogue." Abrahams (*Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 54) says that, "though the title was rare, the office seems to have been common throughout the Middle Ages," and that "in far earlier times there was an honorary official called *Mater Synagogæ* or *Pateressa*," who had, it seems, "charge of the charities for poor widows and orphans, for poor brides and sick women." This description, however, of the duties of the *Pateressa* does not correspond with Schechter's account of the duties of the "ruler of the synagogue." The officer, according to him, "had nothing to do with the direction of the community in general. His office was, on the contrary, that of specially caring for public worship. Among his functions is specially mentioned, *e.g.*, that of appointing who should read the Scriptures and the prayer, and summoning fit persons to preach. He had to take care that nothing unfitting should take place in the synagogue, and had also the charge of the

synagogue building." If we may suppose that women sometimes held the office as far back as the time of our Lord, and held it, not in name only, but in reality, the office conveyed with it no duties of a quasi-ministerial or liturgical kind. The ruler of the synagogue did not himself read or expound the Scriptures or lead the prayers of the congregation. Schechter's view is that "though they (the *Matres Synagogæ*) held no actual office in the synagogue, it is not improbable that they acquired these titles by meritorious work connected with a religious institution—viz., charity" (p. 386).

It must, in any case, have been only exceptional for women to be entrusted with such duties. The general feeling about women among the Jews of our Lord's time tended to their disparagement. The time had not yet come when "the men in three consecutive Benedictions," in the Morning Prayer of the synagogue, were to "bless God 'who hath not made me a Gentile . . . a slave . . . a woman.'"[1] The time had not yet come when Rabbi Eliezer, the son of Hyrcanus, said that it was better to burn the Thorah than to commit it to a woman (*Jewish Encyclop., s.v.* Eliezer). But things were moving that way. Women were allowed to enter the Temple precinct, but only as far as a certain point. Schechter says (p. 387): "Some Jewish scholars even think that the ancient synagogues knew of no partition for women. I am rather inclined to think that the synagogue took for its model the arrangements in the Temple, and thus confined women to a place of their own." They were exempted from the observance of a great part of the Law—partly, no doubt, for natural reasons, but the exemption was tinged with implied inferiority. Their testimony was not taken at law.[2] No doubt the disparagement of women existed mainly in the minds of that class of men who looked with contempt upon the people of the land, and the unsophisticated masses of the Jewish nation gave greater honour to women. Still, the general character of Jewish piety was such as to keep women suppressed and voiceless.[3]

Into such a state of things the Gospel came. Our Lord's relations with women were wholly unlike those of the rabbis of

[1] Taylor, *Pirke Aboth*, p. 29. Abrahams, *Authorised Daily Prayer-Book*, p. ix, says that these benedictions originally formed no part of the morning service, which only took its present shape early in the fourteenth century (p. xvii). But the prayers are ascribed to early times.

[2] This was considered to be a part of their curse (Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*, p. 223, ed. 2).

[3] There is a well-balanced statement of the position of women in the Old Testament in Dillmann's *Alttestamentliche-Theologie*, pp. 446 *f.*

His time. He was followed about by women who ministered to His needs and those of His disciples. He admitted them to His most intimate school of learners. His miraculous powers in healing, in feeding, were exerted for them at least as much as for men. It was to a woman that He first showed Himself after His Resurrection, and He made her His first messenger of the good tidings to the rest of His followers. In the matter of spiritual privilege He put no difference between the sexes. But, on the other hand, it has been observed that he made no woman an Apostle, with authority over the Church.[1] There was no woman, as far as we know, among the Seventy. The appearance to St. Mary Magdalene after the Resurrection was not reckoned among the appearances which may be termed official, on which the belief of Christendom was to rest. The Lord's "brothers" soon came to hold a commanding position in the Church, but nothing of the same kind is recorded of His "sisters." "Mary, the Mother of Jesus," and "the women" were a great factor in the beginnings of the new movement; they seem to have taken an equal part with other believers in the election of an Apostle; but theirs was a private position, not a public or official one.

In the formative period which followed the great Day of Pentecost it is clear that women took a prominent part, both in the evangelisation of the empire and in the internal life of the Church. Their activities may be gathered up under the following heads:

1. *Special Gifts.*—That the Pentecostal gift was bestowed alike on men and women may be inferred without hesitation from the narrative of St. Luke, and the same holds true of the successive occasions when the gift was extended to other converts. At Samaria the historian records expressly that "they were baptised, both men and women"; we may infer that when, by the laying on of hands, "they received the Holy Ghost," St. Luke again means "both men and women." We do not happen to hear of an instance of a woman speaking with "tongues," nor of a woman working miracles; but this is probably accidental.

About the more important gift of prophecy there is no doubt. It was one of the promises expounded by St. Peter at the first effusion of the Spirit, that not only sons, but daughters also, should prophesy. The handmaidens were to share the inspiration and prophetic utterance with the servants. Accordingly, we read of the four virgin daughters of Philip the Evangelist,

[1] It is an extravagant abuse of language when Harnack (*Mission und Ausbr.*, p. 396) says that Prisca might have been described as ἀπόστολος.

who prophesied. There were prophetesses in the Gentile Church of Corinth. It seems fairly clear that the Apocalyptic "Jezebel" of Thyatira was a professed Christian; and in saying that she "calleth herself a prophetess" the writer does not deny that she was a prophetess, any more than he denies the Jewish origin of "them which say they are Jews and are not," nor is there the least suggestion that a woman ought not to make such a claim. The fault found with her is not that she prophesied, or claimed to prophesy, but that she prophesied falsely.

It is evident, though perhaps surprising, that the possession of spiritual gifts was no guarantee that they would be rightly used. Prophets, presumed to be Christian, were capable of uttering horrible blasphemies (1 Cor. xii. 3; 1 John iv. 1 *f.*). They were liable to speak in a tumultuous fashion which distracted the assembly (1 Cor. xiv. 33). St. Paul felt compelled to lay down regulations for the exercise of the charisma, and would not allow the prophets to speak as if under the influence of an uncontrollable impulse (1 Cor. xiv. 32). In the case of women prophets he laid down further regulations special to their sex. Prophets and prophetesses alike were permitted both to "prophesy" and to pray aloud in the assembly, but the prophetess was not to forget that she was a woman and to behave as if she were a man. She was to cover her head when she made her voice heard (1 Cor. xi. 5). The mystical reasons which St. Paul urges do not concern us at this point; the main thing is that equality of gift did not, in his judgment, involve identity of use. When at a later moment in the same epistle St. Paul orders that women should "keep silence in the churches," it is unnatural to suppose that he is withdrawing a permission so recently acknowledged. Perhaps the simplest interpretation of his language is to think that he will not allow women, even prophetesses, to avail themselves of the liberty which he had just accorded to prophets, of rising to utter a revelation received while another prophet was speaking. This was not, in his view, consistent with the position of women. It does not concern the same persons, but is a further point, when the Apostle adds that women who have questions to ask should ask them elsewhere, and not in the assembly. The liberty accorded to women in such matters at Corinth was treated by St. Paul as a piece of provincial arrogance on the part of that Church (1 Cor. xiv. 36). It is hardly necessary to say that the words "in the churches," "in the church," do not refer to the place of assembly, as a specially consecrated spot, but to the public gathering of the Christians as a body, to be distinguished from sectional or private

gatherings. Jewish women at a later time, if not in St. Paul's days, held meetings of their own for religious purposes, apart from the men (see Abrahams's *Jewish Life*, p. 26).

2. *Duties of Government.*—When St. Paul enumerates, not perhaps exhaustively, different ministries in the Church, he places the teacher next to the apostle and the prophet (1 Cor. xii. 29 *f.*; *cf.* Eph. iv. 11; Rom. xii. 7). Teaching requires, in his judgment, a *charisma* as much as prophecy, but in the Epistle to the Ephesians he associates it closely with the pastoral care. There were, apparently, presbyters who ruled without teaching (1 Tim. v. 17), but the teacher in general was the pastor. It is to this connection that we must look for the right interpretation of the words, "I suffer not a woman to teach" (1 Tim. ii. 12). The saying cannot in any case be taken exactly as it stands, as it would in that case forbid a woman even to teach her own children the alphabet. Timothy's mother and grandmother are commended for the way in which they had taught Timothy the Scriptures. Priscilla seems to have taken a more prominent part than Aquila himself in giving "more accurate" information about the Christian religion to Apollos.[1] In what sense not even Priscilla or Eunice was allowed to "teach" is shown by the clause which follows—"nor to usurp authority over the man." She was not to be regarded as the accredited and responsible guardian and exponent of the faith. This position belonged to the pastor, the presbyter, the bishop, and no woman, however gifted, was admitted, so far as we know, to a share in that office.[2] It would have been in conflict with the Apostolic conception of the relation between the sexes.

3. *Ministries of Service.*—The case stands very differently when we come to the diaconate. There is no reasonable doubt that women were admitted freely to this order, though it is always necessary to guard against assuming that the conception

[1] Acts xviii. 26; the better text puts the wife's name first.

[2] The question is a little complicated by the fact that πρεσβύτερος is sometimes used in the official sense, and sometimes in the natural sense; sometimes, apparently, in both at once. Thus, in 1 Pet. v. 1 the elders are pastors (verse 2), but at the same time they are compared with their "juniors" (verse 5). In this same way 1 Tim. v. 1 seems to refer to the official presbyter, although compared with his "juniors." It might therefore be argued that the πρεσβύτεραι (verse 2) are official "presbyteresses," compared with the junior women. The answer is that the intervening instruction to the junior men has obliterated the official reference in the word "elders" (supposing it to be there at all) before the instruction to elder and younger women begins, and that if "presbyteresses" are here intended the passage stands alone in primitive Church literature.

of an "order" was as much fixed at the outset as it was at a later time. Phœbe is definitely called a "deacon [or deaconess] of the Church at Cenchreæ." When the author of the Pastoral Epistles exhibits the qualifications of the bishop and the deacon, and in the middle of the description of the latter inserts the remark "even so must the women be grave," etc., returning again to the duties of deacons, it seems obvious that he is referring to women who shared the office of the deacon. Had he intended to speak of the wives of the deacons, he must have expressed the pronoun "their." Had he intended to speak of Christian women at large—which, in fact, he did at an earlier point in the Epistle—he would more naturally have waited till he had finished what he had to say about the diaconate. There is no similar remark introduced at the similar point in the description of the bishop and his character. And here we have material outside the New Testament to help us. Everyone is aware of the danger of reading back into earlier documents customs and institutions which are found in later ones, but the fact that the Church is known to have had *ministræ* a few years later than the date of the Pastoral Epistles may justify us in interpreting, with whatever safeguards may be needed, those passages of the New Testament as referring to women holding the like office in the earlier stages of development.

What duties were required of the female deacon we can only conjecture. The deacons in the Pastoral Epistles were, among other characteristics, to be "not greedy of filthy lucre," "holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience"; these directions may be held to point to their administration of the alms of the Church, and their duty of catechising of candidates for baptism. The "women" are not expressly bidden to show these two characteristics. This may indicate that they were not called upon to perform these two offices; it may, on the other hand, be that the writer did not care to go through all the list again—what he prescribed for the deacon, he prescribed for the deaconess. It would certainly be natural for works like these to be performed by the deacons of both sexes. The office of the "Vorsagerin" in some synagogues might be compared "who reads the prayers and translates them into the vernacular for the benefit of her less learned sisters" (Schechter, p. 394). "It was," he says, "against the early notions of the dignity of the congregation that women should perform any public service for men" (p. 390). The word by which St. Paul described Phœbe —"she hath been a patroness (προστάτις) of many, and of myself also"—seems to refer, not to her duties as a deaconess, but to

her bounty and resourcefulness as a person of means. She was to the Apostle what the women "who ministered of their substance" were to his Master and the Twelve—what Lydia was to him at Philippi. Of any liturgical function assigned to deacons, male or female, we read nothing in the New Testament. This does not necessarily mean that no such duties were assigned.

4. *Widows.*—It is implied in 1 Tim. v. 9 that the names of widows were entered upon a roll, with a view to their receiving support from the charity of the Church.[1] Theirs was not an office; but it may be assumed that in return for their maintenance they were expected to continue the same kind of services which had recommended them to their emoluments. Prayer, good works, service of Christian strangers, kindness to sufferers, were to have marked their previous life. As far as age and circumstances permitted, a similar course would be maintained. But the organisation was not created for such works.

5. *Virgins.*—Our knowledge of the class of Christian virgins in the Apostolic times rests entirely upon one chapter of 1 Cor. The romance of Thecla may contain historical elements, but cannot be relied upon as evidence of the position of virgins in the days of which it professes to treat. The virgins spoken of by St. Paul do not constitute an order. There does not even appear to have been a "roll" of them, as there was of widows. There is no sign of their receiving the support of the Church. Their position was a purely private one—highly approved and commended by the Apostles, but involving no duties to the commonwealth of the faithful. The object of such deliberate virginity is "to please the Lord," to "care for the things of the Lord," to "be consecrated both in body and in spirit." Wholehearted, undistracted devotion is the virgin's aim, but no rule is laid down in detail for the exercise of this "*charisma* from God" (1 Cor. vii. 7).

Those who consider themselves at liberty to criticise the Apostolic teaching may object that the Apostles were hampered by the traditions with which they grew up and by the outworn ethics of the Old Testament. It is true that they, like the pre-Christian Church, regard the female sex as normally and by the Divine constitution of things subordinate to the male. St. Peter approves of Sarah for thinking and speaking of Abraham as her "lord," and contemplates nothing higher for Christian women than to be Sarah's daughters, resembling their ancestress. St. Paul insists again and again upon this attitude. His lan-

[1] The word τίμα in verse 3 seems to be used here, as elsewhere, in the sense of "pay."

guage is often difficult to understand, but the general upshot is plain. The " head " of a woman is the man—*i.e.*, her husband —as the " head " of Christ is God. She was created for him, not he for her. She springs from him, not he from her. Her long hair is itself a sign in nature that she is born to a state of dependence, and this dependence, loyally accepted, is her glory. Unobtrusive apparel, silence, with " all subjection," become her. Adam was first, Eve second. Even when it came to sinning, Adam went into it with his eyes open; Eve did not see what she was doing. The same liability to be deceived pursues her daughters. They are the special prey of the religious impostor (2 Tim. iii. 6).

It is unjust to argue that St. Paul's teaching about women is on a par with his teaching about slaves—a kind of interim ethic, to be superseded in the light of larger experience and the free leading of the Spirit. He does indeed teach that a Christian who happens to be a slave should acquiesce in his lot. According to one interpretation of his language, he even teaches that if freedom be offered to him, he would do better to remain a slave. This, however, is avowedly a piece of interim ethic, like the advice to married men and women to continue in married life, and to unmarried men and women to remain unmarried. It is in view of " the present distress." A change of state is not worth making. St. Paul never teaches that slavery is an integral part of the Divine ordering of the world, a sacred thing founded in nature. It is at most an arrangement permitted by Providence, which is not necessarily sinful. His teaching about the place and work of women, right or wrong, is based upon unalterable facts. It is rather to be compared with his teaching about parents and children than with that about masters and slaves. So long as the race continues, men must be men and women must be women, and it is upon this truth that St. Paul rests when he asserts that women are to be " subject," however quaint and rabbinic may sometimes be the illustrations by which he enforces the assertion.

The " subjection " which the Apostles inculcate is in no way a mark of inferiority in spiritual things; it is a differentiation of function. St. Peter, " who was himself a married man," not only demands subjection from the wife, but demands from the husband the " knowledge " which means consideration and study in conjugal relations, and " honour " for the wife, based upon the twofold fact that she is " the weaker vessel "—*i.e.*, feebler in body—and that she is equally with himself an heir of the grace of life. St. Paul, if he requires from the wife a submission like that of the Church to Christ, requires from the

husband a self-sacrifice on behalf of his wife and her progress in grace, like the self-sacrifice of Christ for the Church. So far as spiritual privileges go, there is absolutely no difference between the sexes in the New Testament. The ideal presented in the beginning of the Old Testament is restored. "The man at once recognises in the woman one intimately related to himself, and fitted to be his intellectual and moral consort."[1] So far as some periods of Judaism, like other religious systems, placed women on a lower level than men, it frustrated the primeval intention of Him who "made them male and female." St. Paul's great saying that in Christ there "cannot be Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female," brings back the original design. But in so saying St. Paul does not sweep away the distinctions between races and conditions of life and between the two sexes. He does not mean that every human being is qualified to do exactly the same thing as every other. The variety of human nature is as precious as its unity; the order of human society is as necessary as its freedom. It is no treason against the dignity of womanhood to teach that even in Christianity there are some tasks that are essentially the tasks of men, while there are others which women can share with them.

[1] Driver on Gen. ii. 23.

APPENDIX II

ST. PAUL AND WOMEN

By Miss Alice Gardner.

Students of the Roman Empire are familiar with the fact that in the first century of our era women had become more important and independent than they had been in earlier times. The Romans, with their well-known subtlety in evading without directly abolishing any of their laws or institutions opposed to social changes, had practically abolished the perpetual tutelage of women, by which a girl passed from the *potestas* of her father to be under the *manus* of her husband, and a widow fell under the power of the next male relative—it might be of her own son. It was no longer the recognised duty of a lady to keep at home and spin wool all day. Increase of wealth and of slave labour, and free communication between various countries, had given her new tastes and more opportunities for satisfying them. To some persons, both ancient and modern, the change has seemed to be entirely for the worse. But it is hardly fair to judge of any class of any persons entirely from satirists or from uncompromising conservatives. Those who did not believe in women were ready in those days, as their successors in our own, to lump together the desire on the part of women for literary culture and scope for legitimate social activities with contempt for morals and selfish ambition and greed. The reason is not far to seek. The removal of any simple order of duties without any imposition of higher ones naturally leads to a disregard for duty altogether; liberty undirected either by good custom or high principle soon degenerates into licence. And women in the ancient world had, generally speaking, not much room for the legitimate exercise of great natural gifts. Yet there were splendid women in early imperial times, all the nobler for bringing a cultivated mind to bear on conduct and to support them in changes of fortune by lofty ideals and thoughts. And there seem to have been very many—whose names are preserved in monumental inscriptions

—who in the ordinary walks of life kept a good name and did their duty by husband and kinsfolk, and sometimes by their city likewise. It was a time in which the world's business and pleasure was carried out to a large extent by freely formed societies; to these women sometimes belonged, more, apparently, to those of a social and religious than to those of an industrial kind, though they were probably recognised and employed by the manufacturing corporations. Thus Lydia—St. Paul's convert and friend at Philippi—is supposed to have been an agent of the great purple-dyeing company which we know to have existed at Thyatira, and derived a respectable income from her business, though probably without possessing the freedom of the guild. In religious movements women were very active, especially in the newly introduced Eastern cults. The worship of Isis, which became very popular, and which certainly, in a later phase, taught some doctrines favourable to personal religion and to belief in immortality, was in great part served by women, and it is interesting and relevant to our subject to notice that a very large number of women had become Jewish proselytes.

This fact is the more striking because, in earlier times, Jewish women had not had anything like a position of equality with men in religious matters. True, the position of women among the Jews was in some respects higher than among Greeks and Romans, except under unusual conditions. The story of the creation of woman in the second chapter of Genesis places her, certainly, on a lower footing than man, yet to be the *helpmeet* of man is certainly a higher vocation than to be his tool or his toy. And the writer of the Priestly Code, in Gen. i., places her much higher, as to him, the Adam as man, created after the image of God, comprised male and female together. We are all familiar with honourable women's names in the history of the patriarchs, though certainly they generally seem morally inferior to the great men. Among the judges we have the noble figure of Deborah, and there are a few prophetesses—though not many—in the story under the kings. But it is on the domestic side that the Jewish woman is strongest, and it will be remembered that the mother, with the father, is to be honoured according to the Fifth Commandment. Whether by internal development or by intercourse with other nations, women attained to a point of greater influence and activity in post Alexandrian times. It is to these times that the delightful sketch of the excellent woman in the concluding chapter of the Book of Proverbs is assigned. This is not a purely domestic picture, as the lady not only " layeth her hand to the distaff " and " looketh well to the

ways of her household," but also " considereth a field and buyeth it," " maketh linen garments and selleth them, and delivereth girdles unto the merchants," so that not only do " her children arise up and call her blessed—her husband also, and he praiseth her "; and the final demand for her is, " Give her of the fruit of her hands, and let her works praise her *in the gates.*"[1] With the development of this enterprising, independent type of Jewish lady, in Hellenistic times, we meet, as might be expected, a good many scathing remarks on the faults and limitations of the female character. But woman counts for more than she used to in the world, and so it is in the institutions of religion. In old times women used to take part in the sacrifices—the story of Hannah is witness to that fact—but attendance at festivals was not obligatory on women, nor was the observance of other points of the law. Later, however, we find women quite as zealous as men in their devotion to their religious observance. Whether this is due to Oriental influence, or to the growth of civilisation generally, we can hardly say. But the fact that there were so many female proselytes may be regarded both as cause and effect of the rising importance of women, in spite of some tendencies to the contrary. It might have seemed probable that if a new and more mystic and emotional religion should arise among the Jews, women would take a decided share in its propagation. And such we know to have been the case.

Here I would point to one view of things which has affected a good many people, though perhaps it loses force on serious reflection. One feels, after reading the Gospels, and familiarising oneself with the notices of women—both in the Synoptics and in the Fourth Gospel—those who followed Jesus and ministered to His wants, those that threw themselves on His pity in their distress and remorse, sat at His feet to hear His word, did the last offices to His Body, and were the first to hear the news of His Resurrection—and then go on to the Acts and the Epistles, one seems to miss the feminine note; the Gospel has not become one for men only, but there is less sympathy with that is peculiar to women. I am inclined to think that this feeling is hardly justified by fact. The incidents of the Gospels in which women are prominent belong more to the fringes of the story than to its substance, and, after all, even during the earthly life of Jesus, we have no woman appointed to any important or responsible work; there were no women among the Twelve Apostles, nor was any present at the Last Supper. If there is something like a

[1] I am indebted for this explanation to Dr. Abrahams, Reader in the Talmud, Cambridge.

drop from poetry into prose between the Gospels and what comes after, it may be because we are moving away from Galilee, or because we are coming on to more historical ground—certainly not because the Apostles depressed, while their Master would have raised, the status of women generally. That there was more tenderness towards female weakness, possibly more sensitiveness to women's devotion, in Jesus than in Paul is quite possible. The general impression one receives in childhood has been immensely increased by the influence of Christian art, and it must count for something, though not for too much. It seemed necessary to take account of it before coming in detail to St. Paul's attitude towards women, both individually and collectively.

To come, then, to St. Paul himself: I think that the reader of his Epistles and of those parts of his biography which give the clearest conception of his mind and character would naturally regard him as of a temperament not particularly susceptible to female influence. He must have been born and bred in the Jewish habit of respect and obedience to father and mother. Commentators have endeavoured with great ingenuity but little success to draw from his writings some information about his mother. He had a sister, but we only know this from the fact that he had a sister's son. We have no evidence that in his earlier or later life he was influenced by any particular woman or associated with women; his teachers and colleagues were male only. There are a few exceptions to this rule in the respectful and even affectionate mention of the women to whom he sends greetings at the end of his Epistles. One of them is striking: that of the mother of Rufus (Rom. xvi. 13), whom he calls "his mother and mine." Unless we have here an improbable reference to some real or fictitious kinship, it seems that this matron —whoever she may have been—had at some time shown him motherly kindness, which he had requited with filial affection. One would much like to know more about her. If her son *Rufus* was the man of that name mentioned in St. Mark, she must have been the wife or widow of Simon of Cyrene. The name is not uncommon, and speculation has no ground to go on. In any case, one might say that St. Paul was one of a type of men personally independent of women. He had, of course, no romantic feeling towards women—such a sentiment was alien to his society and his time—nor had he the instinct of domesticity which we find in a good many Jews and Romans and a certain number of Greeks of his day. This tendency is generally weak in men of strong intellectual or spiritual enthusiasm, im-

patient of any ties or attractions that may hinder them in the achievement of great ends or slacken their hold on Divine realities. In St. Paul's personal messages to women one marks a certain sexless simplicity—they might generally have been sent to men if the name had been masculine—occasionally the sex of the person greeted has been disputed by commentators. They are intermixed with the messages to men, and indicate a feeling of comradeship mingled with respect. He seems to look at them from the standpoint of a fair-minded and clean-minded man, to whom sex is not the most prominent consideration in estimating the labours or even the failings of his colleagues and helpers.

But if Paul was neither erotic nor domestic in temperament, it must be insisted on that he was by no means ascetic. There was a good deal of asceticism in the air during his time, both in Jewish sects and in pagan schools. By asceticism I do not mean only the practice of self-discipline. Paul endeavoured himself and exhorted his converts to "keep the body under and bring it into subjection," and had "learned, in whatsoever state he was, therewith to be content." But with him control over self was sought as means to an end—that of greater efficiency in his Apostolic work. He was far removed from the intolerant hatred of matter as such and impatience of the necessities of material life which marked the Therapeutæ and Essenes and the hermits of the Egyptian plains. Asceticism has commonly a twofold effect on the position of women—of exaltation and of depression. This sounds paradoxical, but if one looks into what was written of virginity and of abstinence in the early Middle Ages, one discerns an immense respect for ascetic women who have chosen the contemplative life, together with a contemptuous tone assumed towards the rank and file of women, among whom Eve and Delilah seem to be characteristic specimens. True, these ascetic writers are sometimes very respectful to Christian matrons—even to those of high social position—but there seemed to be occasional traces of an undercurrent of regret that such ladies had missed their proper vocation. Perhaps these two extremes may have originated, or at least have helped to form, the bizarre combination of adulation and contempt in the estimate of women to which we are accustomed in mediæval literature. But St. Paul, chronologically belonging to the ancient world and sometimes appearing in a strikingly modern light, whatever else he may be, is never mediæval.

But to turn from generalities to particulars, it may be conducive to clearness if we enquire into the mind and action of St.

Paul as to women under three heads: (1) The position of women in the Church as it had to be regulated under authority; (2) married life and its duties; and (3) sex as seen in a mystic light. This last will help to clear up the inner thoughts of St. Paul on the whole subject, and involves (*a*) The sacramental view of marriage as typifying the relation of Christ and the Church; and (*b*) the conception of sex-differentiation as not extending to the spiritual nature of human beings.

1. The position of women in the early Church has been the subject of much searching investigation, and the part of St. Paul in confirming or modifying their status is to be clearly discerned in his Epistles, notably in those to the Corinthians. In the Epistle to Timothy rules are given with more elaboration, and possibly these post-Pauline rules may be regarded as a development of the Pauline. The general state of things may be briefly summarised according to what is practically agreed upon by historians of the early Church. In Apostolic times there were two ruling and administrative orders: bishops or presbyters —not yet differentiated in functions—and deacons, between which orders there was a very considerable distinction in dignity of office and functions. But besides the governing and official there was the charismatic ministry—that of persons individually gifted with certain powers to be used for the benefit of all. We have some of these given in 1 Cor. xii. 28—Apostles, prophets, teachers, then powers, healings, tongues, etc.; and in Eph. iv. 11, Apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers.[1] This is, of course, a cross-classification; a presbyter might be an Apostle or prophet; a deacon might be a teacher. Still, the difference between ecclesiastical *office* and purely spiritual distinction seems to have been made pretty early, though it may not always be expressed in exactly the same words. Now, with regard to women, it may be safely laid down that, except in communities rather off the lines and at later times, they did not hold the first office, that of presbyter, and, of course, not that which became superior—of bishop, but that they were early admitted to the second order, the diaconate, and that with regard to the ministry of gifts there was nothing to hinder a woman from being a prophet or teacher if she had the requisite qualifications.

The history of the diaconate, so far as it concerned women, is interesting, but rather disappointing, as it seemed to have in it the promise of useful and authorised public work for Christian

[1] I am aware that the existence of a definite line between the charismatic and the official ministry has lately been disputed; still, the distinction seems here to hold good.

women, but never took root in the West, and died out pretty early in the East. It was an office of no great dignity or responsibility, comprising some menial functions, but affording scope for zealous and intelligent women both to alleviate sufferings and to impart instruction. They seem to have become complicated with another, originally separate, institution—that of widows. From very early times the Church had a pension fund for widows, and naturally the recipients of the dole might be expected to fulfil certain minor duties, not unlike those entrusted to deaconesses. Even in sub-Apostolic times, as we should judge from the Epistle to Timothy, the widows—who are expressly distinguished from women deacons—were not altogether a success; the difficulties of providing for them can easily be imagined. For those women who had the desire and capacity for a religious life the spread of monasticism created a different ideal from that of the deaconess, though the female diaconate was revived, with more social objects, later on. But our present main concern is with New Testament times.

The other kind of religious activity open to women was less capable of definite direction and circumscription. That women who felt or believed that they had a Divine message found in the early Church opportunity of unburdening their souls we have abundant evidence. We all remember Philip's "daughters who prophesied," and the rules, to which I shall return directly, for the conditions under which the utterances should be publicly made. I suppose, though I know of no distinct evidence on the subject, that women enjoyed the "gift of tongues" and the other *charismata*. I may mention here that in some Oriental sects women might attain to the highest prerogatives of the ministry—might celebrate the Eucharist, baptise, and fulfil practically any Christian function afterwards set apart for men. With regard to the rank and file of women, they seem everywhere to have been at least permitted to be present at Christian assemblies. We should gather this from the simple fact that special admonitions to women form part of the Epistles written to the Churches. Whether they occupied any particular part of the room or assembly-hall we have no means of deciding. Possibly usage varied, depending on convenience and on local habits of life.

This, then, was the general state of things in the Churches that St. Paul had to organise and direct. The course which he pursued is in accordance with the views already expressed: that he felt no particular interest in women *as such*; that he appreciated to the full any manifestation of Christian zeal and

enlightenment wherever he saw it; that he had no desire to curtail female or any other liberty, except for the preservation of law and order; but that, being of practical mind and entirely devoted to the pursuit of one object in life, he would not have scrupled to hurt some sensibilities and to check some demonstrations of fervour for the sake of peace and decorum and for the good of his cause. Thus, he recognised the diaconate fully, and appreciated warmly all the work done by women in the Church (even women who, like Euodias and Syntyche, had given trouble by being quarrelsome); he approved of women who gave instruction and exhortation; but as Jew and as Roman citizen he was inclined, in the name of peace and harmony, to retain the part taken by women in Church worship and work well within the limits of what the average man would consider fit and seemly.

It is not easy to determine how many of the women mentioned by St. Paul were regularly appointed deaconesses; the case of Phœbe of Cenchreæ (Rom. xvi. 1) would seem an obvious one, but has been called in question. It is quite probable, though, of course, uncertain, that the difficult Philippian women just quoted held that office. One would give a good deal to have had, from St. Paul, a little specific determination of what Persis and Phœbe and the others did who "laboured much in the Lord." It is probable that it consisted of private visitation for the satisfaction of material wants, and that spiritual ministrations went with the other. It is when we come to the public utterances of women that we find St. Paul's attitude more doubtful, and that he has been quoted as a supporter by persons of widely differing views, and it does not seem that he was either quite consistent with himself nor convincing to posterity.

In one passage (1 Cor. xiv. 34 *f.*) St. Paul seems peremptory enough: "Let the women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but let them be in subjection, as also saith the law. And if they would learn anything, let them ask their own husbands at home: for it is shameful for a woman to speak in the church." This must have sounded almost ironical to those wives of heathen husbands who had just been told to continue in their state of married life, and hope that their husbands might be won over; and a little earlier in the same Epistle we read (1 Cor. xi. 4 *f.*): "Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoureth his head. But every woman praying or prophesying with her head unveiled dishonoureth her head . . . man indeed is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man. For the

man is not of the woman; but the woman of the man: for neither was the man created for the woman; but the woman for the man." Then follow some obscure remarks about hair as a mark of authority (I suppose, of subjection) and of the presence of angels, and last an appeal to " nature " and to Church custom.

The whole passage teems with difficulties; the argument seems irrelevant, and reminds one of the many times in which the inferiority of the female mind or the female character has been thrust in our teeth as an argument against any step towards female improvement or scope for exercise of such faculties as we have. The reference to " nature " is also familiar to us, and it is strange to see that " nature," probably moulded by the accompanying determinate " custom," dictated to later Jews a diametrically opposite practice, since at the present day, in acts of domestic worship, women stand bare-headed while men put on their hats; and surely it is very much like a bull to say in the same letter that a woman may not " prophesy," and that when she does so, it must be with head veiled. Of course, there is the possible hypothesis that St. Paul would let her teach—veiled—in private, but I think the connection shows that he is thinking of public assemblies. However, one does not like, in trying to understand so great a mind as that of St. Paul, to be over-critical as to consistency. We know that he generally dictated his letters, and this fact seems to account for some of his involved sentences and for an occasional want of sequence, or oblivion of what has been said before. I should imagine the case to have been thus: Greek cities were, we know, liable to tumult and disorder in the popular assemblies, and Corinth was probably as bad as any other. The Christians had changed their former standard of conduct—though even there individuals were apt to lapse—they had not suddenly changed their manners, and their meetings were not patterns of decorum. Occasionally two or three would speak at once. Some would indulge in ecstatic sounds that nobody could understand. Others, in partaking of the love-feast, would drink to intoxication. And some women would throw aside the veil, worn by every reputable Greek lady on serious occasions, and, losing self-control, rave around, and with their shrill voices shriek the others down. Someone told St. Paul, and he determined to go to the root of the mischief: " These women must be kept down; they are forgetting their proper place. If they speak at all, let them at least be decently veiled." Then, after an interval: " You want to know my rules for women: I say they have no business to speak at all; they make the confusion worse." Yet he might not have intended,

in cold blood, to stop the speaking of respectable and capable women altogether. Surely if Priscilla were there, with some strange new light on the relation of the Old Dispensation to the New, or Phœbe, on her return from Rome, with wonderful experiences to tell, would it not be to "quench the Spirit" and to "despise prophesyings" if one refused them a hearing? And women of their calibre would not be likely to set at naught the rules of propriety. I am not quite sure whether St. Paul would really allow us to interpret his meaning as: "Don't let women speak unless they have really got something to say, and in that case let them clothe and behave themselves with a view to ordinarily accepted decency." Certainly the later interpretation of his view is harsher than this, but I am not sure that it is more exact.

2. To come next to St. Paul's regulations as to marriage. It is to be noticed that on this subject he speaks with less authority than usual. "This I say by way of permission, not of commandment" (1 Cor. vii. 6,) after suggestion as to temporary separation. Personally he prefers the single to the married life, chiefly on the ground given above, that the cares of married life are a hindrance to entire devotion in Christian work. But also because he is—at least, through the greater part of his career—in expectation of the Second Coming of Christ. "The time is short"; it is not worth while to hamper oneself with transitory obligations. But the law-abiding principle remains. Those that are married should remain as they are. The women are to be in strict subjection to the men, but the duties of husbands are insisted upon more stringently, perhaps, than even before. It is to be noticed that the sin of impurity is regarded rather as a degradation of self than as an injury to husband or wife. The question of giving daughters in marriage or keeping them celibate is—again in reference to present emergencies—left open. But it should be mentioned that the passages commonly referred to virgin daughters may relate to another class altogether. We read in early Church records of a tender relation between individual men and women sometimes called spiritual marriage. It is *possible* that St. Paul is thinking of this kind of relation when he says that he has the right to take about with him "a wife, a sister," or a "sister-wife," like Peter and others, though it is more likely that he is thinking of married Christian women. If the former hypothesis is taken, he sanctions the relation, but thinks that under some circumstances the parties had better marry. The relation was one that only a religion in which burning zeal was combined with ethical soundness—perhaps

only Christianity—could make possible. There was in all probability a large element of hero-worship on the part of the women, and of tenderness—but no Dantesque veneration—on the part of the men. It was, of course, remarkably liable to abuse, and soon had to be prohibited. Many great souls have entered into such a connection in later days, but not in an institutional way. The legendary devotion of Thekla to Paul has some bearing on the subject. But even if there were real foundation for the legend, the relation was too slight and temporary to come under the head of spiritual marriage. More sober and sane is the conception of Christian men and women as standing to one another as brothers to sisters, owning a tie which admits of a high degree of devoted affection with no suggestion of overstrained emotion.

It will be seen that in exhorting children St. Paul enjoins submission to both parents. In this respect he follows the Jewish idea, which we find contained in the Gospels.

3. It is refreshing to turn from temporary regulations and sometimes illogical compromises, dictated by difficult social circumstances, to the inner mind of St. Paul on the fundamental unity in diversity of the sexes. The diversity appears in his sacramental view of marriage, the unity in his glorious protest against all distinctions of race, status, or sex, which impair the essential oneness of that glorified humanity with which he would ultimately identify the Church of Christ.

(*a*) The comparison of the union between Christ and the Church with the best kind of human marriage is set forth most powerfully in an Epistle the attribution of which to him has been questioned —that to the Ephesians. But the same idea, less fully worked out, occurs in one undoubtedly Pauline (2 Cor. xi. 2), where he represents himself as espousing one particular Church—the Corinthian—to the bridegroom, Christ. It may have been suggested to him—perhaps remembered unconsciously—by those passages in the Old Testament wherein Jehovah figures as the long-suffering husband of the changeful Jewish nation. At first sight the comparison seems to depress yet lower the position of women, as there can be no doubt—and St. Paul did not wish to make any doubt—of the inferiority of the Church to Christ. Yet even here we must go behind the most obvious meaning of the words, and think what St. Paul really intended when he spoke of Christ and of the Church. He was not thinking—as we should naturally think—of the Prophet of Nazareth of Galilee and of His followers who always fell short of comprehending His meaning, and again and again, from that day to this, have misunder-

stood and even caricatured His injunctions, till we have come to distinguish pretty sharply between the doctrine and practice of the Church and that of her Master. To St. Paul Christ was "the Lord the Spirit"—transcendent in a sense, yet immanent in every Christian soul, and the Church was the ideal Church, "without spot or wrinkle," wherein that Spirit was manifested. From the human point of view it was not much easier to conceive of Christ apart from the Church than of the Church apart from Christ. The strength of the analogy, however, lay in the bond of love uniting the two, a love which should produce a new world of beauty and righteousness. Such a hope could not have arisen in the mind of any man who disbelieved in women or who regarded marriage as degrading. We may note that while to St. Paul the Church in its corporate character appears female, it comprises both men and women. He would not have understood the state of mind which led the ascetic woman of a later age to call herself a bride or spouse of Christ. It would have seemed to him that all the powers of passionate devotion in men and in women found sufficient satisfaction in an object which belonged to no one exclusively, but constituted the life and joy of the community as a whole.

(*b*) But there is another passage of St. Paul—and that in an Epistle the authenticity of which is quite undisputed—which puts the whole question in another light, and which must often recur, with refreshment and consolation, to minds weary and embittered by the conflicting claims of the sexes. "There can be [now that faith is come] neither Greek nor Jew, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female: for ye are all one man [*one* in masc. sing.] in Christ Jesus" (Gal. iii. 28). The words remind one of the saying of Jesus that "in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels in heaven" (Matt. xxii. 30). Both passages have received quaint interpretations—as that only those who have been celibate in this mortal life are admitted into Paradise, or, again, that man was created sexless, and that the differentiation into male and female came with the Fall. Probably none of us would deduce any such theories from St. Paul's words, nor should we gather from them the equality of the sexes. Certainly St. Paul did *not* hold that Greek and Jew were entirely equal in opportunity nor in their inheritance from the past, and from sundry remarks of his we can see that he did not regard freedom as conferring no real advantage over slavery. But what he seems to have meant here is that deep down in human nature there are spiritual capacities and aspirations common to both

sexes. The differences in powers, temperaments, proclivities, along with differences in physical function, and the social rules grounded therein, belong not to "faith" but to "the law"—not to "the spirit," but to "the flesh."

To sum up, then, what seem to be the most marked peculiarities of St. Paul's attitude to women, we see that he recognised in them spiritual capacities of the same kind exactly as those of men. At the same time he was not inclined to leave entirely free scope to the exercise of their faculties, lest it should conflict with ancestral usage and with good order. He held to the general inferiority of women, but was ready to recognise and to use their zeal and ability in Christian work. The physical function of women in maintaining the race was naturally undervalued by him, owing to his expectation of the coming catastrophe. Personally, he felt and expressed a kindly and even warm regard for the good women with whom he was brought into contact—not *quâ* women, but as members with him of the Christian family of "brothers and sisters."

A CANONESS REGULAR OF ST. SEPULCHRE, c. 1700.

Wearing choir cope over sleeveless rochet.

[*Facing p.* 52.

APPENDIX III

THE MINISTRY OF WOMEN FROM THE FOURTH CENTURY TO THE SIXTH

By the Right Rev. A. J. Maclean, D.D., Bishop of Moray, Ross, and Caithness.

I. *Two preliminary observations* may be offered by way of caution; they apply to all investigations of Christian origins, and not least to the present subject.

1. The variety of custom in different countries, even in the earliest Christian ages, was very great; and it does not follow, because an early writer mentions a usage as being current in his own country, that it was common to the Christian world. Moreover, usages changed more rapidly in early ages than many modern writers have thought. There seems to have been almost as much variety of ecclesiastical customs in early times as there is in our own day.

2. Especially is it necessary, in considering the ministry of women, to be careful in interpreting technical phrases, many of which had different senses in different ages, or in different writers of the same age. Three examples may be taken: (*a*) The word "deaconess" usually means a female Christian official ([ἡ] διάκονος, διακόνισσα, diaconissa, diacona, ministra, etc.). And more rarely "presbyteress" (πρεσβῦτις, πρεσβυτέρα, presbytera, presbyterissa, etc.) may have an official sense. But these words, or some of them, may also mean "the wife of a deacon," or "the wife of a presbyter," as in can. 19 of the second Council of Tours, A.D. 567, where "diaconissa" = "a deacon's wife"; and in Gregory the Great, *Ep.* ix. 7 ("to Januarius"), where "presbytera" = "a presbyter's wife" living apart from her husband (so II. Tours, can. 19; and Auxerre, can. 21, A.D. 578). And they probably have other senses as well. Thus, in the *Older Didascalia* (3rd cent., *Verona Latin Fragments*[1] ed. Hauler, p. 38) and in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, *c.* A.D. 375,

[1] This date is mainly but not entirely derived from the festal cycle (see Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, p. 149).

CHURCH DIVINITY SCHOOL OF THE PACIFIC

(ii. 28), πρεσβῦτις and "presbytera" are apparently the same as a widow who receives alms. (*b*) By "widows" in early Christian literature is usually meant those women who, having lost their husbands, are on the roll to receive alms; but in some authorities "widows," especially "widows-president" (προκαθήμεναι), are Church officials, performing the functions elsewhere performed by deaconesses. Such are the "widows" in the *Testament of Our Lord* (4th cent., or, as some think, 5th cent.), a work which greatly exalts their position; in the *Arabic Didascalia*, Appendix (5th cent. ?), which is derived from the *Testament* and speaks of "widows who are deaconesses" (§ 38); and such, perhaps, was the widow Flavia Arcas, named in an inscription in the cemetery of Priscilla in Rome (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, Eng. tr., p. 342 *n.*). *Cf.* also can. 11 of the Council of Laodicea, *c.* A.D. 380 (πρεσβύτιδας ἢ προκαθημένας). Hence it is of no importance for our present purpose to note that in the *Apost. Const.* (iii. 8) and the *Ethiopic Didascalia* (§ 12, 5th cent. ?) the "widow" is beneath the deaconess, while in the *Testament* she is above her; in the last work the "widow" is an official minister, while in the first two she is only a person who receives alms. (*c*) It is especially important to determine in each case the exact meaning of χειροτονία and χειροθεσία and their verbs. Both words have a variety of meanings. In considering the present subject we must note that the former, when used of ordination, though it certainly means appointment to office in a definite manner, does not necessarily either imply or negative imposition of hands, while the latter is used when laying on of hands is emphasised. This seems to be the case especially in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (see Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, p. 155), and the distinction is found in other writers, though perhaps there is sometimes more latitude of meaning.

II. *Functions of Women Ministers.*—Deaconesses, or in some cases "widows-president," were in many countries employed at baptism for the anointing of women; *e.g.*, in the *Older Didascalia* (iii. 12; Funk, *Didasc. et Const. Apost.*, i., p. 210; *cf.* Hauler, *Verona Fragments*, pp. 49 *f.*), in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (iii. 15 *f.*), in the *Testament of our Lord* (ii. 8)—the presbyter in these works is bidden to say the words of anointing, and in the *Testament* the bishop says the words in the acts of renunciation and submission, but the widows-president "beneath a veil" receive women "by a veil"—in the *Ethiopic Didascalia* (§ 16), and even as late as the seventh century in Jacob of Edessa (Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, i. 22). A deaconess received the newly

baptised woman ascending from the water (*Older Didasc.*; *Ethiopic Didasc.*).

But women are strictly forbidden to baptise in the 100th canon of *Stat. Eccles. Antiq.* (tr. in Hefele, *Councils*, ii. 410 *ff.*, Eng. tr.; called by Bishop J. Wordsworth the *Gallican Statutes*;[1] *c.* A.D. 500), though they are there employed at the baptism of women; and the prohibition is carried on from an earlier period (*cf.* the *Older Didasc.*, iii. 9, ed. Funk, i., p. 198; *Apost. Const.*, iii. 9; *Ethiop. Didasc.*, § 13: these use language which suggests, however, that the custom of women baptising, at least in cases of necessity, was not uncommon). Tertullian (*de Bapt.*, 17) had allowed laymen to baptise, but had forbidden women to do so, or even to teach.

It is remarkable that the Nestorian Narsai († *c.* A.D. 500), in his elaborate description of baptismal anointing, says nothing of women assisting, or indeed of the baptism of women (Connolly, *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, pp. 32 *ff.*). We cannot, however, argue from his silence that deaconesses had ceased to exist or to assist at baptism. At an earlier date (before A.D. 400?) the anonymous traveller known as "Etheria" or "Silvia" is equally silent about deaconesses; the male candidates for baptism are brought by their fathers, the females by their mothers. In the *Acts of Judas Thomas* (thought by some to be of the third century) a nurse or other woman anoints when a woman is baptised, not an official deaconess (Connolly, pp. xlii. *f.*).

The *Gallican Statutes* (can. 12) refer to "widows or virgins consecrated to God who are to be employed at the baptism of women" teaching the female candidates; but (can. 99) "a woman, however learned and holy, may not take upon herself to teach in an assembly of men." In some places, at least, women were appointed to teach women. In Sozomen (*H. E.*, viii. 23) Nicarete of Bithynia, a virgin who did much good at Constantinople, is said not to have accepted the office of a deaconess nor of instructress of the virgins consecrated to the service of the Church. This was in the time of Chrysostom. The meaning may probably be that the "deaconess" and "instructress" were different persons. Theodoret (*H. E.*, iii. 10) speaks of a deaconess of Antioch teaching *a lad* Christianity, in the time of Julian. And Palladius (*Hist. Lausiaca*, §§ 46, 54, ed. Butler, in "Texts and Studies") speaks of women teaching women, and even sometimes men, as Melania the elder

[1] These used to be erroneously called the canons of the "Fourth Council of Carthage."

(† *c.* A.D. 410), who instructed her daughter-in-law and her son in the faith.

Deaconesses are spoken of as keeping the doors of the church by which women entered, and as arranging their places; *cf. Apost. Const.*, ii. 57 *f.* (not in the *Older Didascalia*), viii. 28; *Ethiopic Didasc.*, § 10; Pseudo-Ignatius, *Antioch.*, 12 (*c.* A.D. 400; he was perhaps the author of *Apost. Const.*). In the *Testament of Our Lord* there are assigned to the widows-president forms of prayers for night and dawn, in which they are to ask other women to join (i. 42 *f.*). In that work the only function of deaconesses (as contrasted with widows-president) that is mentioned is that of carrying the Eucharist to sick women, as deacons did to sick men (ii. 20); but deaconesses are mentioned incidentally in i. 19, 23, 35, 40, expressly as inferior to the widows-president (i. 23). The *Testament* allows these widows and the deaconesses to stand within the veil at the Eucharist (i. 23), like its derivative the *Arabic Didasc.*, Appendix, but unlike the other authorities. The attitude of the *Testament* (*cf.* i. 15 *f.*) is apparently taken in opposition to the earlier *Apostolic Church Order* (*c.* A.D. 300), which somewhat slights the ministry of women, though it prescribes the appointment of three widows (in each place), two to pray and receive spiritual revelations, one to visit the sick (§ 21; *Journ. of Theol. Stud.*, iii. 70 *f.*). With all its putting forward of "widows-president," who are to instruct deaconesses and other women, the *Testament* forbids them to speak in church (i. 40), a prohibition also found in *Apost. Const.*, iii. 6—this is a relaxation of the rule in the *Older Didasc.* (iii. 6, ed. Funk, i., p. 190), which forbids them to teach at all (*cf.* 1 Tim. ii. 12)—and in *Ethiop. Didasc.*, § 12 ("our Lord did not send women out to preach"), and earlier still in Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat. Lect.*, Intr. 14; A.D. 348), who forbids women to pray aloud or to sing aloud in church, quoting 1 Cor. xiv. 34.

There are some cautions against women assuming hieratic functions. The heathen had women-priests serving the goddesses, and this is repudiated in *Apost. Const.*, iii. 9 (women not allowed ἱερατεῦσαι, like the heathen; this is not in the parallel *Older Didasc.*). Certain Christian heretics also had female priests, some of whom are called "Collyridians" by Epiphanius (*Hær.*, lxxix. 3 *f.*; end of 4th cent.), who disallows the terms πρεσβυτερίς, ἱέρισσα, and says that the women must not ἱερατεύειν. A canon of the Armenian patriarch Nerses forbids them to assist the presbyter at baptism as deacons (Denzinger, *Rit. Orient.*, i. 22; A.D. 353-373); and so (*ibid.*) Isaac the Great, Armenian Catholicos A.D. 390-441, or 387-439 as

Ormanian gives the date (*Church of Armenia*, p. 19). See also below, V.

III. *Absence of Deaconesses and Widows-President in Some Authorities.*—None are found in the earlier Church Orders: the *Sahidic* [*Egyptian*], *Ethiopic*, and the *Verona Latin Fragments*, which are three forms of one Church Order [now usually called collectively the *Egyptian Church Order*[1]], and the *Canons of Hippolytus* [in that work, can. xix., the women who assist at the baptism of females are not officials, but friends of the baptised]; nor yet in the *Ethiopic Didascalia* (early 5th cent. ?), which, however, includes among the ranks of the clergy "nipilobânos," which may mean παρθένους (see Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, p. 32). But the Arabic translation (*ibid.*, p. 85 *n.*) of that part of the *Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons* which is derived from *Apostolic Constitutions*, bk. viii. (*i.e.*, §§ 63-78, 5th or 6th cent.), has "sub-deaconesses and female readers" (so also *Ethiopic Statutes*, 54), where the Sahidic has "subdeacons and readers." In Cornelius' Roman list (3rd cent.) there had been no deaconesses, and his "widows" are evidently those who received alms. In Sarapion of Thmuis (*c.* A.D. 350) no forms are given for the benediction or ordination of minor orders; and in Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita (*c.* A.D. 500 ?) no deaconesses, and, indeed, no minor orders, are mentioned at all. It would appear that there were no deaconesses in Gaul before the fifth century (and even then they were not long encouraged; see below, V.), nor in Rome before the eighth century (J. Wordsworth, *Ministry of Grace*, p. 277). The *Leonine Sacramentary* (*c.* A.D. 550) has no forms for ordaining to offices lower than the diaconate, and till the seventh century the Roman books give none. Duchesne (*Christian Worship*, p. 343, Eng. tr.) suggests that the disappearance of the female diaconate in later ages was due to the fact that the baptism of adults became exceptional.

IV. *Ordination of Deaconesses and Widows-President.*—The usual custom, in the earlier periods, was that deaconesses should be appointed by a regular form, but not by imposition of hands (χειροθεσία); but the *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 19 *f.*) and the *Epitome* known as the *Constitutions through Hippolytus* (an

[1] But this is almost certainly a misnomer. Connolly urges that it is the work of Hippolytus, and is Roman; at least it is probable that the lost original of these three forms is Hippolytean. Some non-committal name has yet to be invented for this Church Order. Deaconesses are spoken of at length in the *Older Didascalia* (see above, II., and Appendix IV.), of which portions are given in Part I. of the *Verona Fragments*, but they are not referred to in the Church Order in Part III.

abbreviated form either of *Ap. Const.*, viii., or else of a former draft of it) prescribe laying on of hands for them. On the other hand, the *Testament of Our Lord*, though exalting the position of women-ministers, gives the widows-president's appointment without laying on of hands. Originally minor orders, as most authorities teach us, had no χειροθεσία; so Basil (*Ep. can. tert.*, ccxvii. 5) and most of the Church Orders; indeed, the use of it for minor orders was possibly the invention of the author of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. [The above-named *Epitome* has some earlier features than our *Apostolic Constitutions*, bk. viii. Dom Connolly has lately (1916) proposed the theory (*Egyptian Church Order*, "Texts and Studies," pp. 37 *f.*) that the *Epitome* is an abbreviation of our bk. viii., but by a later writer who did not approve some of the developments of the author. If so, there is some confirmation of the suggestion just made, as in the case of the reader the *Epitome* emphatically says, in contradiction to bk. viii., οὐδὲ γὰρ χειροθετεῖται.] The use of the word χειροτονία for the ordination of deaconesses is common enough. Sozomen (*H. E.*, viii. 9) speaks of a deaconess being ordained (ἐχειροτόνησεν). He is referring to one who had become a widow when young, the illustrious Olympias.

In the later Eastern rites we find regular forms for ordaining deaconesses. Thus, in the Constantinople rite (Littledale, *Offices of the Holy Eastern Church*, pp. 32, 152) we have their ordination with laying on of hands, with the diaconal *orarium* (stole) and *maphorion* (said to be a large veil: perhaps=Syriac mə'ăprā, a sort of cope; Payne-Smith, *Thesaur. Syr.*, ii. 2950). The deaconess is allowed to enter the sanctuary, and "after she has partaken of the holy body and the holy blood, the archbishop gives her the holy chalice, which she receives and places on the holy table." Littledale (p. 270) says that this office has not been used since the twelfth century, and was rare before that; a similar form in the West was long used in appointing abbesses, who were called "deaconesses," and in ecclesiastical Greek διακόνισσα often means "an abbess" (Littledale, p. 297; *cf.* I. above).

The ordination of deaconesses in the Syro-Jacobite rite was like that of an abbess (Denzinger, *Rit. Orient.*, ii. 71). Severus (*Bar Hebræus*, vii. 7, quoted by Denzinger), apparently the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch (A.D. 512-519), says that the Antiochene custom was for abbesses to be deaconesses, and that they communicated the nuns (*i.e.*, with the reserved sacrament), but only in the absence of presbyter or deacon; and that in the ordination ("chirotonia") of a deaconess the stole was put on

her shoulder, as in the case of a deacon. In the absence of presbyter or deacon, in addition to various duties in the sanctuary, such as lighting lamps, they communicated women and boys under five years of age with the reserved sacrament, but might not approach the altar (Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, III., ii. 849, quoted by C. Robinson, *Ministry of Deaconesses*, ed. 2 [1914], p. 225).

The Nestorian form is given by Denzinger (ii. 261).[1] The deaconesses were to be chosen from the monasteries, advanced in age, and of good character. They were appointed with laying on of hands, not, however, after the manner of "chirotonia," but with a benediction. One of the prayers speaks of the deaconess as teaching other women.

Denzinger does not give any Armenian, Maronite, or Coptic ordinations of women.

In the *Ordo Romanus* ix., § 3, there is a reference to the benediction of "deaconesses" and "presbyteresses," but it is not certain if female ministers or the wives of deacons and priests are meant (above, I., and J. Wordsworth, *Ministry of Grace*, p. 275 *n.*).

V. *Canons of Councils.*—The 19th canon of Nicæa (A.D. 325), though it belongs to a period earlier than that now treated of, must first be considered. It says that the disciples of Paul of Samosata (whose heresy concerned the doctrine of the Holy Trinity) were to be rebaptised on returning to the Catholic Church, and the clergy, if worthy, to be reordained, *and so for deaconesses* and all who are on the list of the Church the same rule has to be observed. Such deaconesses are reminded that they do not even possess χειροθεσία, and they must be reckoned among the laity. The meaning is ambiguous. Did the Church deaconesses receive χειροθεσία, though the Paulianist deaconesses did not, or though, if they had received it, it was not to be reckoned as such? In view of what has been said above (IV.), it is unlikely that at this early date any deaconesses were ordained with laying on of hands, and the Nicene canon is consistent with this view. A less likely suggestion (Smith-Cheetham, *Dict. Chr. Ant.*, i. 534[b]) is that these Paulianist women had been self-appointed; the canon in no way favours this view. Hefele (i. 432, Eng. tr.) suspects a textual error.

Later councils have several references to female ministers. That of Laodicea (can. 11; *c.* A.D. 380) says that the appointment of "presbyteresses or presidents" (πρεσβύτιδας ἢ προκαθημένας) shall not take place in the Church. This may mean that they are to be appointed, but not to be ordained in the Church build-

[1] It will be found in Appendix XIV.

ing (Hefele, Neander); but more probably it forbids their appointment altogether. [This need not mean that deaconesses, who are not mentioned, were prohibited.] In much of the literature of this period the claims of deacons, which were being pressed, are negatived (Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, pp. 68 *f.*); and probably there was an equal danger of the presbyteresses claiming too high a place. Laodicea (can. 44) also forbids women to approach the altar (see above, II.). The Council of Chalcedon (can. 15; A.D. 451) recognises the ordination of deaconesses with laying on of hands. No woman is to be ordained (χειροτονεῖσθαι) deaconess before forty; if she marries after ordination (χειροθεσία), she is to be anathematised, with her consort. So in Justinian's *Novels* the deaconess is ordained by χειροθεσία (quoted by C. Robinson, *op. cit.*, ed. 2, p. 72). And in A.D. 692 the Trullan Council speaks of women being ordained (χειροτονεῖσθαι, can. 14: *cf.* can. 48), and fixes the age at not less than forty. In Gaul deaconesses were, on the whole, discouraged. The Council of Nîmes (can. 2; A.D. 394) forbade women to be admitted to the "levitical ministry," and if they were so admitted their ordination was to be annulled. At Orange on the Rhone (Conc. Arausicanum, A.D. 441) it was enacted that deaconesses were no longer to be ordained; they were to receive the benediction only in common with the laity (can. 26). Thus there were still to be deaconesses, but they were not to be set apart by a form of ordination like the clergy, and doubtless not with χειροθεσία. The same council (can. 27) refers to some form of benediction of widows, but not as ecclesiastical officials —vows of widowhood were to be made before the bishop in the *secretarium* (a building apart from the church: Hefele, iii. 163), and the bishop was to give the widow's dress; if a widow broke the vow, she was to be punished. Similarly (can. 28), anyone (male or female?) breaking the vow of virginity was to suffer the ecclesiastical penalty. But such vows and the accompanying benedictions have no real relation to ordination. There are prayers for blessing widows in the *Gelasian Sacramentary* (7th cent.), and also in the *Gregorian* (8th cent.; ed. H. A. Wilson, p. 183).

In the *Gallican Statutes* (can. 11; *c.* A.D. 500) a virgin is to be consecrated by the bishop and (can. 12) widows are also spoken of as being consecrated. But here these consecrated widows and virgins, or some of them, are to be employed in ministering and teaching (see above, II.); no deaconesses are mentioned in these *Statutes*, though sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, doorkeepers, singers, are mentioned (cans. 5-10); these are not

ordained by imposition of hands (*cf.* can. 5 explicitly). At Epaon in Burgundy (Iene on the Rhone ?), A.D. 517, it is enacted that deaconesses are not to be ordained (can. 21); and so at the second Council of Orléans, A.D. 533 (can. 18, which also says that a deaconess who marries is to be excommunicated unless she gives up her husband).

We may take it, then, that deaconesses were more common in the East than in Gaul. Yet Rhadegund, wife of Clothaire I., was consecrated deaconess A.D. 544 (*Acta Sanctorum* for August 13).

At the Trullan Council mention is made of a bishop's wife becoming a deaconess (can. 48). This may be merely an honorary title of the wife of a cleric who has separated from her husband. As late as A.D. 1166 we find deaconesses mentioned in the diptychs of Jerusalem (Brightman, *Lit. E. and W.*, pp. 501, line 26, 502, line 31).

VI. *Importance of Deaconesses in Some Places.*—Incidental allusions in several writers show us how high and useful a place deaconesses often filled. For example, the widow Olympias († before A.D. 420), appointed deaconess at Constantinople by Nectarius when under thirty, was frequently consulted by him in ecclesiastical matters (Palladius, *Hist. Laus.*, § 56, ed. Butler; Sozomen, *H. E.*, viii. 9, 24). There were as many as forty deaconesses at Constantinople in Chrysostom's time. And this office was not confined to orthodox circles; the Macedonians also had deaconesses (Sozomen, *H. E.*, ix. 2).

VII. *Communities of Women to be distinguished from Deaconesses.*—These communities were founded for the promotion of the ascetic life rather than for ministrations to others. This is in direct contrast to the usage of the present day, when a very large part of the public Church work of women is done by female religious orders. It was not so in the period now under consideration. We gather from Cassian, a great promoter of monasticism (early 5th cent.), that monks were not ordinarily priests or deacons. He indeed suggests (*Inst.*, xi. 14) that it was often only vanity that made monks seek Holy Orders. There were exceptions, as in the celebrated case of the presbyter Paphnutius (*Conf.*, iv. 1), but ordinarily monks were laymen. Similarly, nuns were not (unless in very exceptional cases) deaconesses, and did not hold any public ministerial office. [Cassian does, indeed, mention that the Abbot Paul was taken into a monastery of nuns to be nursed by them (*Conf.*, vii. 26). He speaks of "widows," not as female ministers, but as being objects of alms and hospitality (*ibid.*, xviii. 14).]

Nunneries were exceedingly common in some countries. Palladius, for example, describes the Tabennesiot monastery of women in Egypt, situated on the other side of the river from the men's monastery (*Hist. Laus.*, §§ 33 *f.*, ed. Butler; written A.D. 420); the presbyter and deacon went over every Sunday to the women's monastery, evidently for the Eucharist (another evidence of the Eucharist being then celebrated only once a week in Egypt), but otherwise no man entered it. This is interesting also as showing that the attendance of the deacon was considered necessary even in the nunnery; the nuns could not perform the deacon's part in the Liturgy (see above, II.). Another custom perhaps prevailed in the nunnery in the city of Antinous (*Hist. Laus.*, § 59); there the nuns seem to have left the monastery every Sunday and to have gone to the church (apparently outside) for Communion. One nun, as an exception, would not leave the monastery; no doubt she received the Eucharist by reservation. [A similar story is told by Cassian (*Conf.*, ii. 5) of a monk who would not go out of his cell to the church even for the Easter festival.] Palladius (§ 41) also mentions other monastic companies of women, such as that of Eustochium at Bethlehem († A.D. 418); Melania the elder, who was instrumental in converting many Macedonians, zealously promoted them (Palladius, §§ 46, 54). Silvania (Silvia) is described as a holy woman who practised great austerity, even to not washing anything but the tips of her fingers (Palladius, § 55). Melania the younger (*ibid.*, § 61; † *c.* A.D. 440), after a married life, separated from her husband and entered a women's monastery at Bethlehem. The references of Chrysostom and Jerome to these communities are numerous. The anonymous traveller ("Etheria" or "Silvia," above, II.) was apparently the head of a female community, to which she writes, addressing the members of it as "dominæ sorores." She speaks of "monazontes et parthenæ, ut hic dicunt" at Jerusalem, as joining in the vigils. Among the Nestorians nunneries do not seem to have flourished long. In Ishu-yabh's synod (6th or 7th cent.), described in the Nestorian *Sunhadhus*, or Book of Canon Law, women's monasteries are incidentally referred to; but the *Sunhadhus* otherwise makes no mention of them. The Nestorian Thomas of Marga (*Book of Governors*, iii. 8, ed. Budge, ii. 325) mentions a nunnery in Mesopotamia in the eighth century.

The study of the records of these female communities, however, will not give us much help in determining the part played by women during our period in ministering to others. The object of the nunneries was to promote the ascetic life.

The above is an attempt to present the principal facts on the subject of women's work in the Church at one period, as far as they are known to the present writer. The employment of an organised female ministry seems to have been common chiefly in the East, and there only for a limited time. The chief object of the ministry was in connection with adult baptism, but other functions, such as teaching women and children and visiting the sick, are mentioned. Opinion on the subject in various parts of the Church seems to have been subject to much variation.

APPENDIX IV

DEACONESSES IN THE "APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS"[1]

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The *Apostolic Constitutions* is the title of a Greek work in eight books containing regulations for the discipline of the Christian Church. No one now holds that these regulations were drawn up by the Apostles: it is only by a fiction that the Apostles are represented as uttering them. The book in its present form cannot be earlier than the middle of the fourth century, and may perhaps be as late as the beginning of the fifth century. But fictions of this kind have a great historical value, as witnessing to the institutions which existed at the time when they were composed. Thus the *Apostolic Constitutions*, as we have them, represent fourth-century manners and customs, coloured to some extent by the ideals which the writer himself cherished in regard to them.

But these *Constitutions* have another and still greater value. Modern research and criticism has shown that they embody far more ancient elements, which can be separated off from the later matter with which they were overlaid by the last writer who gave us the work in its present form.

Thus Books I. to VI. embody an *Apostolic Didascalia* (or *Instruction*) which may belong to the middle of the third century. It is preserved to us in a Syriac translation; and a Latin trans-

[1] This study was written as an appendix to *The Ministry of Deaconesses* (by Deaconess Cecilia Robinson; Methuen, 1898). It was partially revised for the second edition of that book in 1914; but since then Dom Connolly's essay on *The So-Called Egyptian Church Order* (Cambridge Texts and Studies, viii. 4), in which he showed that this Church Order was a Roman document of the early part of the third century, and indeed was no other than *The Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus, has made a further revision necessary; and I have taken the opportunity of making fuller use of *The Testament of Our Lord*, of which only a small portion was known in 1898. The modifications thus necessitated do not, however, affect the results of the original study, so far as the work and position of deaconesses are concerned.

lation has quite recently been discovered of the greater part of it, in the underwriting of a palimpsest manuscript at Verona.[1]

Again, Book VII. embodies the *Didaché* or Teaching of the Apostles, as can plainly be seen now that we have recovered that early work.

Book VIII. presents a more difficult problem; but it has embodied considerable portions of another early manual, which has recently been identified with the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus.

It is evident at once that we can no longer be content to take the evidence of the *Apostolic Constitutions* in regard to our own present subject of deaconesses, without investigating also the evidence which may be afforded by the earlier documents to which we have referred.

The first place in which deaconesses are mentioned in the *Apostolic Constitutions* is in ii. 25. In speaking of the necessity of giving tithes and firstfruits to bishops, the writer justifies this regulation by a reference to the Mosaic dispensation, and continues thus according to the earlier and later recensions:

Syriac Didascalia (Lag., p. 36).

For these are your high-priests: but the priests and Levites now are Presbyters and Deacons, and Orphans andWidows.

But the Levite and high-priest is the Bishop. . . . He doth govern in the place of the Almighty: he shall be honoured by you even as God. For the Bishop shall sit for you in the place of Almighty God.

And the Deacon shall stand in the place of Christ: and ye shall love him.

Apost. Const., ii. 25 (Lag., p. 54).

For these are your high-priests: but your priests are the Presbyters; and your Levites are those who are now Deacons, *and your Readers and Singers and Doorkeepers, your Deaconesses* (*αἱ διάκονοι ὑμῶν*) and Widows *and Virgins* and Orphans. But the high-priest above all these is the Bishop. . . . He is your God on earth after God. . . . Let your Bishop preside (*lit.* sit first) over you, being honoured as with the honour of God, wherewith he governeth *the Clergy* (*κλῆρος*) *and ruleth the People.* And let the Deacon stand *by him, as the Powers do by God; and let him minister to him in all things blamelessly;* even as Christ *doing nothing of Himself* *döth always the things that are pleas-*

[1] The *Syriac Didascalia* was edited anonymously by Lagarde in 1854. In the same year, under his former name of Bötticher, he had elaborately compared it with the current Greek text, in Bunsen's *Christianity and Mankind* (*Analecta Ante-nicæna* II.). The Latin version was published by E. Hauler at Leipzig in 1900. The Syriac and Latin versions are in close correspondence, and take us back to an underlying Greek original. A translation of the Syriac, together with dissertations, was edited by two German scholars, H. Achelis and J. Flemming, in 1904, and a translation into English is given by Mrs. Gibson in *Horæ Semiticæ*, I., pt. 2.

And the Deaconess shall be honoured by you in the place of the Holy Spirit.	*ing to the Father.* And let the Deaconess (ἡ διάκονος) be honoured by you as a type of the Holy Spirit, *doing and uttering nothing without the Deacon; as neither doth the Paraclete do or speak ought of Himself, but glorifying Christ waiteth upon His will. And as it is not possible to believe on Christ without the teaching of the Spirit, so without the Deaconess let no woman approach the Deacon or the Bishop.*
And the Presbyter shall be to you as a type of the Apostles.	And let the Presbyters be reckoned by you as a type of us, the Apostles: *let them be teachers of Divine Knowledge. . . .*
And the Orphans and Widows shall be counted unto you as a type of the Altar.	And let your Widows and Orphans be counted by you as a type of the Altar: *and let the Virgins be honoured as a type of the Altar-of-Incense.*

We must confine our attention in the first instance to the *Syriac Didascalia*, the earlier document, which the later writer has considerably expanded at this point. The startling metaphor by which the bishop is compared to God, the deacon to Christ, and the deaconess to the Holy Spirit, is based on the vigorous language of the Epistles of St. Ignatius (*c.* A.D. 117). Thus, in the Epistle to the Magnesians, c. 6, we read:

> The Bishop presiding over you as a type of God, and the Presbyters as a type of the council of the Apostles, and the Deacons most dear to me having been entrusted with the Ministry (διακονίαν) of Jesus Christ.

Again in the Epistle to the Trallians, c. 3:

> Likewise let all of you reverence the Deacons as Jesus Christ, as also the Bishop, who is a type of the Father, and the Presbyters as the council of God and as the college of the Apostles.

And again in the Epistle to the Smyrnæans, c. 8:

> All of you follow the Bishop, as Jesus Christ followeth the Father; and the Presbytery as the Apostles; and reverence the Deacons as the command of God. Let no one without the Bishop do any of those things that concern the Church.

Here we see the source of the metaphor. But the writer of the *Didascalia* elaborates it, so as to complete the Trinity. The bishop is a type of the Father, the deacons of Christ: what, then, corresponds to the Holy Ghost? Now, in early Christian literature the Spirit is frequently regarded as representative of a female element in the Godhead. For example, in the Apocryphal *Gospel according to the Hebrews* Christ is made to say: "My Mother the Holy Spirit took Me by one of the hairs of My head, and brought Me up to the great mountain Tabor." The ex-

planation is generally sought in the fact that in Hebrew the word for "Spirit" is of the feminine gender. In this place, then, our author takes the deaconess as representing the female ministry of the Church to be the equivalent in his metaphor of the Third Person of the Holy Trinity.

He then keeps the metaphor of St. Ignatius for the presbyters; and he goes on to reproduce the famous saying of the Epistle of St. Polycarp (c. 4) with regard to widows: "Knowing that they are the Altar of God." A few lines farther on he is back again with St. Ignatius in his injunction "not to do anything without the bishop."

It is clear, then, that this early writer of the third century cherished a lofty conception of the diaconate of women. It is for him an essential part of that side of the Church's function towards her members, which is always specially thought of when bishops and deacons are mentioned in close connection.

We now turn with interest to see how the fourth-century writer deals with this remarkable passage. And first we see that his list of Church officers is a longer one than that of his predecessor. After bishops, presbyters, and deacons, he adds, in the opening sentence, readers and singers and doorkeepers. Then he expands the orphans and widows into deaconesses and widows and virgins and orphans.

We feel instinctively that the deaconess has dropped. She is indeed first among the women of the Church; but readers and singers and doorkeepers have got in front of her, and we shall find that this will happen again.

When he comes to the great metaphor, he feels that it needs justification; and he finds that justification in a view of the subordination of the Persons in the Blessed Trinity which is very near to being heretical. The deacon is the servant of the bishop, the deaconess is the servant of the deacon: even as Christ does nothing without the Father, and the Holy Spirit waits upon the will of Christ.

Here, again, the deaconess has dropped; and in Book VIII. we shall find in express words that she is the deacon's servant (viii. 27).

The metaphor receives a further interpretation when it is said that as the Spirit is needed for the reception of Christ's teaching, so the deaconess is the necessary intermediary between the women of the Church and the deacon; and, of course, yet more between them and the bishop.

Later on in Book II. as it now stands (cc. 57 *ff.*, Lag., pp. 86, 89) we have two mentions of deaconesses in connection with the

services in church. Neither of these occurs in the earlier work. There it was ordered that one of the deacons should remain at the altar and the other outside at the door until all were assembled; and then they should minister together in the church. In the later work we read, "Let the doorkeepers stand at the entrances of the men to guard them, and the deaconesses at those of the women." And below, where rules are given respecting the deacon's duty of finding seats for strangers, we read, "Let the deaconess do the same for the women who come, whether poor or rich."

Thus we see again that in the fourth century the deaconess gets grouped with the doorkeepers.

Book III. is devoted to widows; but we find in the course of it some interesting matter respecting deaconesses. The widows were a numerous and somewhat troublesome body of Church pensioners. Among their besetting sins were grumbling at their fellow-widows who happened to receive larger doles, and making begging expeditions instead of being content with the supplies that reached them in the normal way. They had to be reminded that "the Altar of God does not go running about, but is fixed in one place" (iii. 6, Lag., p. 101). They were accordingly to stay at home and pray. Moreover, they were to lead a life of obedience, "obeying," says the earlier work, "the bishop and the deacons." In the later work this is expanded into "obeying the bishop and the presbyters and the deacons, yea more, and the deaconesses."

In iii. 11 (Lag., p. 106), we read: "We do not give permission to Presbyters to ordain Deacons, or Deaconesses (διακονίσσας), or Readers, or Ministers (ὑπηρέτας), or Singers, or Doorkeepers; but only to Bishops." This section is entirely absent from the earlier work.

A passage in iii. 14 has sometimes been cited as referring to deaconesses; but the words "she that ministereth (the alms)" are used generally, and not technically. The reference is to a Christian woman who relieves a widow, but conceals her name that she may not lose her reward. The word "ministration" (διακονία) is several times used in the sense of "an alms."

We now come to the most important passage, iii. 15 *ff*. It will be best to give the *Syriac Didascalia* here in full, in a literal translation, and to deal with the later form afterwards. The earlier form will be found to present a good deal of repetition; some of it has been pruned away in the later form, which has introduced a good deal of change at this point. Part of the diffuseness is, however, simply due to the Syriac translator, who

often puts two words where the Greek original would have had but one.

Syriac Didascalia (Lag., p. 70, l. 22).

(Chapter xvii. Concerning the appointment (κατάστασις) of Deacons and Deaconesses.)

Wherefore, O Bishop, thou shalt appoint unto thee labourers of righteousness, helpers helping with thee unto life. Those that seem good to thee out of all the people thou shalt choose and appoint Deacons: a man as for the doing of many things that are needed, and a woman as for the ministration to the women. For there are houses where thou canst not send the Deacon unto women, because of the heathen; but thou shalt send the Deaconess. For also in many other things the office of a woman (that is a) Deaconess is required. First, when women go down into the water, it is required that by a Deaconess those who go down into the water should be anointed with the oil of anointing. And where there is not a woman present, and yet more a Deaconess, it is necessary for him that baptiseth, that he should anoint her that is baptised. But where there is a woman, and yet more a Deaconess, it is not necessary for women that they should be seen by men. But in the laying on of hands thou shalt anoint the head only, as of old were anointed priests and kings in Israel. So do thou also after that example in the laying on of hands anoint the head of those that receive baptism, whether men or women. And afterwards if thou baptise, or if thou order Deacons to baptise, or Presbyters, a woman (that is a) Deaconess, as we have before said, shall anoint the women: but a man shall mention them over the names of the invocation of the Godhead in the water. And when she that is baptised cometh up from the water, the Deaconess shall receive her, and shall teach her and instruct her how the seal of baptism may be unbroken in chastity and holiness. For this cause we say that there is the more need and necessity for the ministration of a woman (that is a) Deaconess, because that our Lord and Saviour also was ministered to by ministering women; which were Mary Magdalen, and Mary the daughter of James, and the mother of Joses, and the mother of Zebedee's children, with other women also. For thee also the ministration of a Deaconess is required for many things. For to the houses of the heathen, where there are women that believe, it is required that a Deaconess should go in and visit those that are sick, and minister to them in whatsoever may be required for them; and that for those that have begun to recover from sickness there may be a washing (?).

(Concerning Deacons.)

Now the Deacons shall be like in their conversation to the Bishop; but labouring yet more shall they labour, far more abundantly than he. And they shall not be lovers of filthy lucre; but they shall be zealous in ministration: and according to the number of the multitude of the people of the Church, so shall the Deacons be; that they may be able to distribute and relieve every one; so that to aged women that are infirm, and to brothers and sisters that are in sickness, to every one of them they shall provide the ministration that is right for him. But a woman the rather shall be zealous in the ministration to the women, and a man (that is a) Deacon in the ministration to the men. And let him be ready to obey and to submit himself to the command of the Bishop; and to any place that he is sent to minister or to say anything to any man, let him be labouring and toiling. For it is necessary that every one should know his place, and be zealous to fill it. And be ye of one counsel and one mind and one soul dwelling in two bodies; and know ye what is the ministration: even as our Lord and Saviour saith in the Gospel, " He of you that willeth to be head, let him be to you a servant; even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many." So is

it necessary that you Deacons also should do, if it shall be to you that ye should lay down your lives for your brethren, in the ministration that is necessary for them. For neither did our Lord and Saviour disdain to minister to us; as it is written in Isaiah, " To justify the righteous that performeth good service to many."[1] If therefore the Lord of heaven and earth did service even unto us, and endured and bore everything for us; how much more is it necessary that we should do so for the brethren? that we should resemble Him, whose imitators we are, and holding the place of Christ. And again in the Gospel ye find that it is written, how that our Lord girded Himself with a towel, and poured water into a bason of washing,[2] as we sat at meat; and drew near and washed the feet of all of us, and wiped them with the towel. Now this He did that He should show us charity and love of the brethren, that we also should do so to one another. If then our Lord did so, ye Deacons, do ye doubt to do so to those that are sick and infirm, ye who are workers of truth, and hold the likeness of Christ? wherefore be ye ministering in love, and be not murmuring or doubting: otherwise ye minister as for men, and not for God; and your reward, according to your ministration, shall ye receive in the day of judgment. It is necessary therefore for you Deacons that ye visit all those that are in need, and concerning those that are distressed that ye make known to the Bishop; and that ye be his soul and his mind, and in everything be toiling and obedient unto him.

Here we note at the outset how naturally the appointment of the deaconess comes in for the discharge of certain duties of the deacon which he, as a man, cannot conveniently discharge. " Appoint deacons, a man as for the doing of many things that are needed, and a woman as for the ministration to the women." It will be seen that in the later form this is broken up, and so the deaconess is further separated from the deacon.

Next we see that the account of the baptismal rite is perfectly straightforward. Persons to be baptised were anointed over the whole body before they entered the water. This, in the case of women, was sometimes done by a man (see the story told by John Moschus of Conon the monk); it was more desirable that it should be done by a woman, and, if possible, by a deaconess. There was another anointing which followed baptism immediately. This was the anointing of the head only, and was done by the baptiser at the laying on of hands. To anoint the head was enough, as in the case of priests and kings in Israel. The part that might be taken by a woman did not include the actual formula of baptism, which must be uttered by a man. The deaconess received the baptised woman as she came out of the water, and was responsible for her further instruction. The later account has greatly confused the simplicity of the earlier one.

Thirdly, we may observe with delight that the ministration of women to the Church of Christ is grounded by the author upon the ministration of women to Christ Himself during His earthly

[1] So Isa. liii. 11, in the Septuagint translation.
[2] So the Old Syriac Version renders in John xiii. 5.

life. A true note is here struck; we sadly miss it in the later work.

Fourthly, the ministration of the deaconess to women in their own houses, both in sickness and in the recovery from sickness, is plainly insisted upon. This, again, almost disappears in the *Apostolic Constitutions*.

The passage which follows deals with the duties of deacons generally, and with the spirit in which they should be performed. The deaconess is again expressly spoken of in regard to ministrations to women, and there is no indication of the later notion that she is in any way subordinated to the deacon.

We need not follow in detail the modifications by which the later redactor has spoiled this beautiful picture. Customs have considerably changed by his time. If the deaconess still anoints, it is proper that the deacon should begin the anointing. The comparison of the second anointing to that by which kings and priests were consecrated in Israel is marred by the guarding words by which the writer would fain save the honour of the priestly caste. It is plain that the deacon is rising and the deaconess is falling; her work among the sick and poor is passing out of sight, and so, too, is her direct relation to the bishop, as his servant in all matters where a woman's service is more suitable and more efficient than a man's. It is unnecessary to translate the whole of the Greek passage. I give merely those parts which specially concern the deaconess.

Apost. Const., iii. 15 (Lag., p. 109).

Wherefore, O Bishop, appoint thy fellow-labourers and workers of life and righteousness, Deacons well-pleasing to God, those whom out of all the people thou dost approve as being worthy and full of activity for the needs of the ministration (διακονία). And appoint also a Deaconess (διακόνισσαν), faithful and holy, for the services (ὑπηρεσίας) of the women. For there are times when to certain houses thou canst not send a man (that is a) Deacon (ἄνδρα διάκονον), because of the unbelievers: thou shalt send therefore a woman (that is a) Deaconess (γυναῖκα διακόνισσαν), because of the imaginings of the wicked. For indeed for many needs do we need a woman (that is a) Deaconess (γυναικὸς διακόνου). And first, when women are baptised (*lit.* enlightened) the Deacon shall anoint only their forehead with the holy oil; after him the Deaconess (ἡ διάκονος) shall fully anoint them: for it is not necessary that women should be seen by men. But only in the laying on of hands the Bishop shall anoint her head, even as priests and kings of old were anointed: not that those who are now baptised are ordained (χειροτονοῦνται) priests, but as Christians (so called) from Christ (*i.e.*, the Anointed One), a royal priesthood and a holy nation, God's Church, the pillar and support of the bridechamber, who once were not a people, but now (are a people) beloved and elect. Thou therefore, O Bishop, after that type, shalt anoint the head of the baptised, whether men or women, with the holy oil for a type of the spiritual baptism: then either thou the Bishop, or the Presbyter under thee, having spoken and named over them the sacred invocation of Father and Son and Holy Ghost,

shalt baptise them in the water. And the man let the Deacon receive, but the woman the Deaconess, that the imparting of the seal that is not to be broken may be made in seemly wise. And after this let the Bishop anoint them that are baptised with the ointment. . . . [After some remarks on "baptism into the death of Jesus," and the giving of the Lord's Prayer, we go on as in the Syriac.] But let the Deacons be in all things blameless, as also the Bishop, only more full of activity, proportionate to the number of the Church, that they may be able also to serve among the infirm, as workmen not to be put to shame. And let the women be zealous to attend to the women; and both of them in matters concerning bearing tidings, travelling, service, bondservice (δουλείαν); for as concerning the Lord, Esaias spake saying, "To justify the righteous that performeth good service to many" (δικαιῶσαι δίκαιον εὖ δουλεύοντα πολλοῖς, liii. 11, LXX.). . . .

Our next reference is in Book VI., c. 17 (Lag., p. 177). Here we have directions as to marriage in the case of various members of the clergy (κλῆρος). Bishops, presbyters, and deacons are to be but once married, and in no case are they to marry after ordination. Ministers (ὑπηρέται), singers, readers, and doorkeepers, are to be once married only: they may marry after entering upon their office. "But let a deaconess be a pure virgin; but if not, then a widow once married, faithful and honourable." The whole of this section is absent from the earlier work.

This brings to a close our examination of the evidence offered by the early *Didascalia*. The references to the deaconess are fewer than in the later book; but the picture which they present is a far more satisfactory one, and it corresponds far more closely to the form of the institution as we see it in the Pastoral Epistles. The diaconate exists as the bishop's instrument for the discharge of his responsibility in matters which he cannot attend to except through the aid of subordinate ministers. Among these subordinate ministers are both men and women. In the development of the Christian ministry the men came to have further duties assigned to them, especially in relation to the liturgical service in church. The deacon thus gained in importance, and gradually rose above the deaconess. She, on the other hand, lost ground, and ultimately passed out of sight. In the *Apostolic Didascalia* we get the one clear and detailed picture which Christian literature affords us of the deaconess in her rightful position.

We now pass to Book VIII. of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. In order to appreciate the information which it offers, it is necessary to say something of a much earlier work from which it has largely borrowed.

The *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus is the work which in

modern times has been known as the "Ethiopic Church Order" or the "Egyptian Church Order," because it has come down to us in Ethiopic, Coptic, and Arabic translations of the original Greek book.[1] Considerable portions of this work are preserved in a Latin translation in the Verona palimpsest, which has already been mentioned as containing a large part of the *Apostolic Didascalia*. Before the whole of the evidence had been accumulated and subjected to criticism, it had seemed reasonable to suppose that the "Egyptian Church Order" was derived from another manual called the *Canons of Hippolytus*, which is preserved only in an Arabic version. But the most recent criticism has reversed this judgment, and has shown that the so-called "Egyptian Church Order" is in fact the work of Hippolytus which bore the title of the *Apostolic Tradition* and was thought to have been entirely lost; and that from it these later works are derived or have largely borrowed—namely, the *Canons of Hippolytus*, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and the *Testament of Our Lord*.[2]

We may note at once that in the *Apostolic Tradition* there is no mention of deaconesses. This, indeed, is what we should expect in a Roman document of the beginning of the third century. In the rite of baptism we find both the anointings referred to, but nothing is said of the ministration of a woman when women are baptised.

The first passage in Book VIII. which mentions deaconesses has no parallel in the *Apostolic Tradition*. It concerns the order of the reception of the Eucharist (viii. 12; Lag., p. 259): "After this let the Bishop receive; then the Presbyters, and the Deacons, and Sub-deacons, and the Readers, and the Singers and the Ascetics; and, among the women, the Deaconesses, and the Virgins, and the Widows, then the Children (*i.e.*, probably the Orphans), and then all the People."

VIII. 18 *ff.* (Lag., p. 263). We now come to the ordination of deaconesses.

In the *Apostolic Tradition* only bishops, presbyters, and deacons are ordained by the laying on of hands. The readers, sub-deacons, widows, and virgins are appointed, not ordained. Of the widow it is expressly said: "They shall not lay hand upon her, because she does not offer the sacrifice, nor has she a (sacred)

[1] These versions are now published, with translations into English, by the Rev. G. Horner (*The Statutes of the Apostles*; London, 1904).

[2] See *The So-Called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents*, by Dom Connolly (Cambridge Texts and Studies, viii. 4). In an appendix the author has given the Latin fragments, supplementing them from Mr. Horner's translation of the Ethiopic.

ministry. For the sealing is for the priests because of their ministry, but (the duty) of widows is about prayer, which is the duty of all."[1] In the *Apostolic Constitutions*, however, the hand is laid on the deaconess, the sub-deacon, and the reader; but not on the confessor, the virgin, the widow, or the exorcist.

We may here set side by side the sections of the *Apostolic Constitutions* which deal with the ordination of the deacon and the deaconess:

Now concerning the Ordination (χειροτονία) of Deacons, I Philip enjoin:

A Deacon shalt thou appoint, O Bishop, laying thy hands upon him, with all the Presbytery and the Deacons standing by thee; and praying over him thou shalt say:

Almighty God, Thou that art true and canst not lie, that art rich unto all that call upon Thee in truth, fearful in counsel, wise in understanding, mighty and great: Hearken unto our prayer, O Lord, and let our supplication come into Thine ears; and make thy face to shine *upon this Thy servant, which is appointed unto ministry* (or "unto the office of a Deacon": εἰς διακονίαν); *and fill him with the Spirit and with power*, as Thou didst fill Stephen, the martyr and follower of the sufferings of Thy Christ; and grant him after *serving unto well-pleasing the ministry* (or "office": διακονία) *committed unto him*, without swerving, without blame, without reproach, to be counted worthy of a higher standing: through the mediation of Thy only begotten Son, with whom to Thee and the Holy Spirit be glory, honour, and majesty, world without end. Amen.

Concerning a Deaconess (διακόνισσα), I Bartholomew enjoin:

O Bishop, thou shalt lay thy hands upon her, with the Presbytery and the Deacons and the Deaconesses standing by; and thou shalt say:

Eternal God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Creator of man and woman, that didst fill with the Spirit Mary and Deborah, and Anna and Huldah, that didst not disdain that Thine only begotten Son should be born of a woman; Thou that in the tabernacle of witness and in the temple didst appoint (προχειρίζεσθαι) the women-guardians of Thy holy gates: Do Thou now look *on this Thy handmaid, which is appointed unto ministry* (or "unto the office of a Deaconess": εἰς διακονίαν); *and grant unto her the Holy Spirit*, and cleanse her from all pollution of the flesh and of the spirit, *that she may worthily accomplish the work committed unto her*, to Thy glory and the praise of Thy Christ, with whom to Thee and the Holy Spirit be glory and worship world without end. Amen.

The parallel between these two ordination prayers is very close; but there is one remarkable difference: even at this comparatively early period the deacon is, as at the present day, led to look forward to a higher office. In the *Apostolic Tradition* the prayer at the ordination of a deacon is wholly different, except for a possible reference to higher office (but the text is here very corrupt), derived from a particular interpretation of 1 Tim. iii. 13. It is probable, therefore, that these prayers for the deacon and the deaconess belong to the age of the writer of

[1] It is unfortunate that the Latin of this passage is not preserved.

the *Apostolic Constitutions*, if, indeed, they are not entirely his own composition.

Although the actual word "ordained" (χειροτονεῖσθαι) does not happen to be used in speaking of the deaconess, it is most certainly implied in the direction for the laying on of hands; and the word is used immediately afterwards in regard to the sub-deacons. On the other hand, it is expressly said later on by way of contrast that a virgin or a widow "is not ordained" (οὐ χειροτονεῖται).

VIII. 27 (Lag., p. 266). This section specifies the powers of various orders. Of the deacon we read: "A Deacon does not bless; he gives not blessing, but receives it from Bishop and Presbyter; he does not baptise, does not offer; but when the Bishop offers, or the Presbyter, he distributes to the people, not as a priest, but as ministering (διακονούμενος) to priests. But to none of the rest of the Clergy is it lawful to do the work of the Deacon. A Deaconess does not bless; neither does she perform any of those things which the Presbyters or the Deacons do; save only the keeping of the gates, and the ministering (ἐξυπηρετεῖσθαι) to the Presbyters in the baptism of women, for the sake of that which is seemly. A Deacon separates (*i.e.*, puts temporarily out of Communion, or perhaps out of office) a Sub-deacon, a Reader, a Singer, or a Deaconess, if occasion shall arise, in the absence of a Presbyter. A Sub-deacon is not allowed, nor again a Reader a Singer, or a Deaconess, to separate either one of the Clergy or one of the Laity: for they are the Ministers (ὑπηρέται) of the Deacons."

VIII. 30 (Lag., p. 267). The remainder of the consecrated Bread in the mysteries is to be distributed by the deacons among the clergy in the following proportions: "To the Bishop four parts, to a Presbyter three, to a Deacon two, to the rest, Sub-deacons, or Readers, or Singers, or Deaconesses, one."

These last two sections have no parallels in the *Apostolic Tradition*.

Note on Some Other Early Documents bearing on the Question of the Female Diaconate.

1. The Apostolic Church Order.—This book, which bears in Greek the title "The Constitutions by the hand of Clement and the Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles," is printed in Lagarde's *Reliquiæ Juris Ecclesiastici* (1856), and in Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*, ii. 1, 2 (*cf.* 5). Lagarde also printed a Syriac version of the first half of it from *Codex Sangermanensis*, No. 38, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. The whole is

extant in Syriac in the "Malabar" Bible in the University Library at Cambridge, though, unhappily, in a very mutilated condition.[1] The book probably belongs to the third century, but it embodies older elements. The first half of it contains the "Two Ways" (*i.e.*, the first portion of the *Didaché*), divided among the various Apostles as speakers; the second half embodies in a similar way some early manual of Church discipline. From the passage here to be quoted it will be seen that the question of the ministration of women was a subject of controversy at the period when it was written.

After various directions as to the bishop, the presbyters, the reader, and the deacons, we read as follows:

Cephas[2] said: Let three Widows be appointed; two to wait upon prayer, concerning all who are in temptation, and for revelations concerning anything that may be needed; but one to attend upon the women that are tempted in sicknesses; and let her be ready to minister (εὐδιάκονος), and watchful, announcing what may be needed to the Presbyters, not a lover of filthy lucre, not given to much wine, that she may be able to be watchful for nightly services (ὑπηρεσίας), and for whatever other good deeds she may wish to perform.

Here we see that the work of the deaconess is assigned to one of the three widows. The other two are to reserve themselves for prayer and revelations (ἀποκαλύψεις). Lower down we read:

Andrew said: It is useful, brethren, to appoint a ministration (διακονίαν) for the women.

Peter said: We have already given orders:[3] but concerning the offering of the Body and of the Blood let us make quite clear.

John said: Ye have forgotten, brethren, that when the Teacher asked for the Bread and the Cup, and blessed them saying, This is My Body and Blood, He suffered not these (women) to stand along with us. (Martha said: Because of Mary, for He saw her smiling. Mary said: I did not laugh any more.) For He said to us before, when He was teaching, that the weak should be saved by the strong.

Cephas said: Ye remember some which say that it is not seemly for women to pray standing up, but sitting upon the ground.

James said: How, then, in the matter of women can we define ministrations (διακονίας), save a ministration (διακονίαν) that they should afford to women that are in need?

This extraordinary passage seems intended to refuse the diaconate in a formal sense to women, while it gives a corresponding responsibility to one of the widows. It shows, however, that a female diaconate was known to exist in some Churches,

[1] It has now been published by Dr. Arendzen with the help of a Mosul codex (*Journ. of Theol. Studies*, ii. 59, October, 1901).

[2] Cephas in this document curiously appears as a different person from Peter.

[3] Probably referring to the passage about widows, already cited. Dr. Arendzen's article, already referred to, throws further light on this passage.

though it was rejected by the author of this book. It is not improbable that the book belongs to Egypt.

The reference to Mary and Martha recalls passages of the Gnostic *Pistis Sophia*, in which they are introduced, together with the Apostles, as putting questions to our Lord. This also is an Egyptian work.

2. The Testament of the Lord.—This is another Church Order with an apocryphal setting. It has made considerable use of the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus. It is not easy to fix its date, but it may be as late as the fifth century. It begins with instructions supposed to be given by our Lord to the Apostles after the Resurrection, and contains among other things an interesting description of Antichrist. Then it passes on to deal with Church order. Lagarde published such parts of it as are contained in the MS. at Paris, mentioned above, and translated the Syriac into Greek (*Reliquiæ*, pp. 80 *ff.*) The whole was published in 1899 by Rahmani, the Uniat Syriac patriarch of Antioch, in a Syriac version, and accompanied by a translation into Latin. I have here used the English translation of Dr. Maclean.[1]

The writer of the *Testament* reverses for the most part the relative positions of deaconesses and widows which we found in the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Both widows and deaconesses, indeed, are allowed within the veil during the offering of the Eucharist; but whereas the deacons and widows stand behind the presbyters, the deaconesses stand behind the sub-deacons (p. 70). Similarly, the widows receive after the deacons, but the deaconesses after the laymen, and at the head of the laywomen (p. 76). Thus the widow is reckoned with the clergy, but the deaconess is not.

Widows occupy an important position in the *Testament*, especially the widows "who sit in front." For these there is a prayer at their appointment, though the hand is not laid on them (p. 108). For the deaconesses there is no such prayer, nor, indeed, any mention of their appointment. Of the widow it is said: "Let her prove the Deaconesses" (p. 106); but this has no reference, apparently, to their selection or appointment.

Though the position of the deaconess is thus systematically lowered in the *Testament of Our Lord*, there yet remains to her the duty of taking the Eucharist to women who are kept at home by sickness (p. 135).

Documents of this kind, apocryphal as they are, are of his-

[1] *The Testament of Our Lord* (Cooper and Maclean; Edinburgh, 1902).

torical value, as affording evidence of the condition of the community in which they were produced, and for whose edification they were intended.

3. The Acts and Martyrdom of Matthew.—This book is printed by Tischendorf in his *Apocryphal Acts of Apostles* (pp. 166), and is discussed by Lipsius in his treatise on the same subject (vol. ii., pp. 108 *ff.*). It appears to represent a slightly later recension of a Gnostic work which belonged to the second half of the second century. It is remarkable for the keen interest which the writer evidently has in all matters of Church order and discipline. The king of the Anthropophagi, or Man-eaters, is converted on the occasion of his burning the Apostle Matthew to death. We cannot recite the whole of the interesting tale, for we are here concerned only with its close. The saint appears after death, and changes the king's name from Fulvanus to Matthew; his son, who had hitherto borne his father's name, is also to be called Matthew; the king's wife is to be called Sophia (Wisdom), and his son's wife Synesis (Understanding). "And in that hour Matthew appointed (κατέστησεν) the king Presbyter, now he was thirty-seven years old; and the king's son he appointed Deacon, he being seventeen years old; and the king's wife he appointed 'Presbytis' (='Aged Woman' in Titus ii. 3); and his son's wife he appointed Deaconess (διακόνισσαν), and she also was seventeen years old."

This mention of the *presbytis*, as though a more dignified position than that of deaconess, is of great interest, especially as the word so rarely meets us. The Council of Laodicea, about the middle of the fourth century, forbade the appointment of πρεσβύτιδες or προκαθήμεναι (presiding women.) Epiphanius, however, recognises the title of *presbytis* as applied to the more elderly of the widows, but distinguishes it carefully from that of *presbyteris*, or female elder (*cf. supr.*, p. 78 *n.*).

A later recension of these Acts shows that offence was caused by the passage which is quoted above. For in the Vienna MS., quoted by Tischendorf in his notes, we read it thus: "The blessed Matthew ordained (ἐχειροτόνησεν) the king Presbyter, and his son Deacon; and likewise also his wife and daughter-in-law Deaconesses."

Here we have several indications of a somewhat later state of things. The stricter word is used for ordination; the ages, which in the case of the deacon and deaconess were less than was afterwards required, are omitted; and the king's wife becomes a deaconess like the daughter-in-law.

APPENDIX V

AUTHORISED WOMEN TEACHERS IN THE EARLY CHURCH

By Miss Alice Gardner.

During the time of the first promulgation of Christianity, though in various degrees in various parts of the Empire, it was possible for women of means and of ability to obtain a good literary education and to exercise intellectual influence. This fact is too well known to need any references for verification. The question before us is: How far and in what ways was the knowledge and capacity of Christian women used in the early Church in the imparting of religious instruction?

Here we may distinguish under three heads:

I. Prophetic women, whose utterances are more or less spasmodic.
II. Deaconesses.
III. Heads or prominent members of monastic communities.

I. With regard to the prophetesses, we have, of course, in the New Testament the daughters of Philip the Evangelist,[1] over whom a mountain of legend has been raised. And as to the prophetesses in Christian assemblies, we have the testimony of St. Paul.[2] If in the passage permitting such to prophesy veiled he is not simply forgetful of his injunctions against female discourse altogether, it may be that we have here a trace of prophecy as something *sui generis*, produced by the direct action of the Holy Ghost, and in no relation to the person uttering the words. Thus in the *Apostolic Constitutions*[3] we read: "Neither is every one that prophesies holy, for even Balaam the son of Beor the prophet did prophesy. . . . Silas and Agabus prophesied in our times; yet did they not equal them-

[1] Acts xxi. 9. [2] 1 Cor. xi. 5.
[3] "Ante-Nicene Lib." Ed., bk. viii. 2.

selves to the apostles. . . . Now women prophesied also . . . Miriam, Deborah . . . Huldah, Judith . . . the Mother of the Lord . . . Elizabeth . . . Anna; . . . yet were not these elated against their husbands." This last sentence points to the connection between women prophetesses and doctrines of asceticism, especially of celibacy. The stories of women who broke away from the ties of betrothal or even of marriage[1] in order to share in the lives and labours of the Apostles are, of course, of doubtful historical value. It has been pointed out[2] that in some cases the story fits in so well with known historical surroundings as to give it a certain amount of probability; also that, even if untrustworthy as to facts, it may be important as giving indications both of life and manners and of institutions. There can, however, be no doubt that extreme caution should be used in basing upon them any conclusions as to the relations of the sexes in Apostolic times. Their tone is dominated by a combination of asceticism and sentimentalism which is at variance with the whole character of almost all the New Testament records. And it may be added that the particular tendency which prevails in the romance even of a period not far distant from the stories it purports to relate may be without any evident effect on contemporary institutions. Yet, though the relations of Paul to Thekla and of Philip[3] to Mariamne may be set down to fancy pure and simple, they are at least evidence of an atmosphere that prevailed in some regions in early times, and may have helped to develop some ambitions of a peculiar kind in emotional women of the sub-Apostolic period. I may, however, here remark that Mariamne, as probably some of the other women who attached themselves as travelling companions to the Apostles, represented herself as playing the part of a careful "Martha," not of a colleague.

These women, then, are less important for our present purpose than those who were in some quarters reckoned as actual prophetesses, and of whose histories there is no doubt. Of these, after the enigmatical "woman Jezebel" of Rev. ii. 20, the most important were the proclaimers, with Montanus, of the heresy that bears his name: Priscilla and Maximilla. Montanism is

[1] See, among other sources, the *Acta Apostolorum* Apocrypha, edited by Lipsius and Bonnet, and *Studia Sinaitica*, by Mrs. A. E. Lewis. Several, from prudence or impatience, adopted male clothing. Are they to be classed with Joan of Arc or with Pope Joan? The idea of a Divine utterance quite apart from the speaker is seen in the respect for child oracles. Everyone will remember the "take and read" in Augustine's *Confessions*, viii. 29. *Cf.* Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Ec.*, ii., for the rejection by a babe of its putative father.

[2] *E.g.*, by Conybeare in his edition of *Paul and Thekla*.

[3] *Acta Phil.*, Lipsius and Bonnet.

sometimes regarded as a reaction against the view that direct spiritual revelation to the Church had finally ceased.[1] The prominence of women in proclaiming his doctrines is not wonderful if we consider that it was emphatically "the Phrygian heresy," and that Phrygia was of old a land of religious excitement and orpheistic or Cybelistic mysteries. It is, however, a curious fact that the one eminent man who adopted its tenets, Tertullian,[2] was a strong opponent of female influence in the Church. Other women claiming similar gifts were likewise charged with heresy, whether on reasonable grounds or the reverse it is difficult to say. If, as we shall see directly, there was, from quite early times, a distinct tendency towards the restriction of women's powers, the result might easily be an inclination on the part of the restricted to deviate from the beaten track, and at the same time it might lead to suspicions of heresy in orthodox but aspiring women.[3]

II. The position of the *deaconess* in East and West is beset with problems, and in all probability it was very different at different times and places. If we look at the functions of the deaconess,[4] we are inclined to doubt whether she actually possessed more authority in sacred things than was, in extremities, allowed to members of the laity. Yet she was undoubtedly admitted to her office by laying on of hands, and in some documents—comparatively late as well as early—deaconesses and deacons are mentioned as if on a footing of equality. Thus, in a novel of Justinian (Tit. III.) we have, among the clergy of the "Great Church" (Of the Holy Wisdom), not so many deacons and so many deaconesses, but so many male and so many female deacons. Dr. Armitage Robinson, in a very important appendix to Cecilia Robinson's *Ministry of Deaconesses*, shows how evidently the female diaconate had declined in relation to the male between the publication of the Syriac and of the Greek versions of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. [To investigate the causes of this change would be a serious and lengthy task.] It might be suggested that African influence, very potent in the Western Church, might be traced here. Certain canons attributed to the doubtful "Fourth Council of Carthage" are strictly prohibitive of important functions assumed by women.

Though entirely independent of any connection with the reception of Holy Orders, the question whether women might

[1] Can there have been any affinity between Montanus and Joachim dei Fiori, the mediæval asserter of the reign of the Paraclete ?

[2] See his *Apology*.

[3] For other women founders or champions of sects, see Origen against Celsus, bk. v., ch. lxii.

[4] Especially in *Apostolic Constitutions*, bk. iii., sec. 3.

teach might here be dealt with. In all summaries[1] of the duties of deaconesses, stress is laid on that of preparing women for baptism. This was, apparently, merely a rule prescribed by decency in the case of adult baptism, practised by immersion and accompanied by anointing. It was often necessary, however, that the candidates, especially if illiterate, required instruction as to the answers they should make to the officiating priest. This official teaching might have developed into a female oversight of women belonging to the catechumenate, but as it was done privately in homes, not much evidence respecting it is forthcoming. Certainly the rule that no woman should ever teach men (in neglect of the ancient precedent of Priscilla and Apollos) seems to have commended itself to the Christian public. It appears that the necessity for female teaching depended on the degree of seclusion in which women in general lived, and this was a time, generally speaking, of female emancipation, in which it was not difficult for women to obtain instruction from men. In the story of Pelagia,[2] who had been an actress, she is said to have sought instruction from Bishop Nonnus, who declined to give it unless he were accompanied by his brother-bishops. Ultimately a deaconess was brought to do what was necessary, but not till after Pelagia had received some teaching from the clergy.

It has been conjectured that the decline of the female diaconate was due to the cessation of necessity for it in the desuetude—generally speaking—of adult baptism and of the seclusion of women. Possibly we may see some tendency in the same direction in the gradual adaptation of ecclesiastical to political institutions, both of the empire and of barbarian States. There was room for women to live and to think in the early Middle Ages, but of course they had no political status, and as the Church became more or less secularised, they lost their ecclesiastical status likewise. This, however, is a mere suggestion. Certain it is that an institution undreamed of in the earliest days of Christianity, and not even Christian in origin, came to afford a career and an outlet for religious and intellectual energy among the greatest women of East and West: monasticism, with all its developments and possibilities.

III. It may be said that more stress should have been laid on the lives of women who held the diaconate in the fourth century, especially the friends and correspondents of St. Jerome. But these ladies may be regarded as exceptions that prove the rule, since Olympias, though distinguished as a deaconess, was also

[1] See Bingham; also Smith's *Dict. Chr. Ant.*
[2] *Studia Sinaitica*, Mrs. Lewis's Introduction.

foundress of a community, and the studious and devoted women who shared her aspirations were also drawn into something like convent life. The famous abbesses whose institutions became centres of learning, religion, and civilisation generally, were not in Holy Orders, yet their authority and influence in many ways was great and far-reaching. There is, of course, no rivalry between deaconesses and abbesses or prioresses corresponding to that between secular and regular clergy. In some cases the head of a convent seems to have held the title of deaconess. Nor was there rivalry between the monastic institutions for men and for women. In many cases (as of St. Basil and of St. Cæsarius of Arles) a brother and sister founded cognate institutions and shared one another's anxieties and hopes. And in the correspondence between men and women engaged in similar undertakings we have wholesome Christian friendships between men and women, free from the extravagances of "spiritual wives" and husbands of legendary days. Among the most conspicuous of these friendships, in the West, is that of St. Boniface and his female correspondents. In the East there is an affectionate and dignified character in the letters written by St. Theodore the Studite to strengthen the faith and patience of communities of women during a persecution directed at least as much against monasticism as against the icons.

Apart from the stimulus and the counsel given by eminent heads of nunneries to leading scholars and controversialists, such women had a wide sphere of educational influence over the younger women committed to their charge. True, the commonly held notion that every mediæval nunnery served as a "high-class academy for the daughters of gentlemen" has for some time been exploded, but the numerous novices in a large establishment gave scope to a teacher who felt bound to be on intimate terms with each member and to exercise spiritual supervision.[1] This her rule would enable her to do by means of frequent confession,[2] apparently of a disciplinary kind rather than strictly penitential. Within the abbey walls her powers extended to all things that did not require the exercise of priestly functions.[3] Literary as well as religious knowledge was thus imparted under her direction. It was to her nuns that Harrod of Hohenburg, near Strasburg, who must have had considerable artistic powers, as well as general education, dedicated her

[1] See especially the letters of Theodore the Studite to the Abbess Euphrosyne, *Pat. Gr.*, vol. xcix.

[2] See Mary Bateson on "Double Monasteries" in *Transactions of Royal Historical Society*, 1899, pp. 250 *ff.* But I do not feel convinced that the Abbess of Brie had power to excommunicate.

[3] See *Constitutions of Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus*, 199.

Book of Delights—a kind of encyclopædia.[1] Caligraphy was practised, Latin poems and plays produced, and devout musings recorded. In spite of decline in many quarters, some distinguished nuns lived to rejoice in the beginnings of the new learning, only to find themselves swept away in its merciless current.[2]

A peculiarly interesting department of monasticism is that in which monks and nuns lived near together under one rule, though not in a single community.[3] In these it sometimes happened that a woman, in virtue of special qualifications, might bear rule over men and women together. One of the chief of them was famous as the home—apparently not under the government—of Queen Radegund at Poitiers. There were several in England and in various parts of the Continent.

In one sphere of intellectual and spiritual production, that of hymn-writing, we have less that we can attribute to women writers than we might on other grounds expect. There were, however, religious poetesses in the East, especially one whose poems were set to music and seem to have been sung in choirs. This was Casia of Constantinople, who according to a current story had once a chance of becoming bride to the Emperor Theophilus.[4] As Casia seems to have adopted the monastic life, she affords yet another example of the attraction towards the cloister felt by most women of unusual piety and ability.

A few remarks may be added, by way of summary, as to each of the classes of women Church workers considered.

1. The first, that of the prophetesses, though originally honoured and unfettered, was almost bound to have a brief existence. The "discernment of spirits" by which alone the true prophetess could be distinguished from the charlatan was not extensively possessed, and the office, being of necessity irregular, would consequently disappear as a regular ministry became consolidated.[5]

[1] For her and the other great abbesses of mediæval times, and for life in the nunneries generally, see Lina Eckenstein, *Women under Monasticism*. The book is unfortunately out of print. A new edition is urgently needed.

[2] See, in Miss Eckenstein's book, her interesting account of the Pirkheimer family.

[3] See learned investigation by Mary Bateson, already referred to.

[4] Mr. H. J. W. Tillyard has put into modern notation the tunes to which Casia's hymns were sung (*Byzantinische Zeitung*, 1911). I may refer to a note on her in my *Theodore of Studium*, pp. 226 *ff*.

[5] It is curious to compare here the history of Methodism, in which exceptionally able women were originally allowed to preach, but their right to do so was withdrawn when the Wesleyans obtained a fixed organisation, though women preachers continued to flourish in minor Methodist bodies. The attitude of John Wesley with regard to these ladies recalls that of St. Paul in similar circumstances.

2. The second class, of deaconesses, was the only one that actually received consecration and ecclesiastical functions and authority; but these functions and authority were never extensive, and tended to diminish as the government of the Church came to be confined to men. They may possibly have been on the same footing as deacons (while the distance between priests and deacons was greater than it became afterwards), but their position becomes indefinitely lower when the male diaconate is chiefly regarded as the stepping-stone to a higher office,[1] from which women have always been excluded.

3. The third, abbesses, prioresses, and the like, had more power and influence, educationally and otherwise. But they were an unforeseen development of their times, and in their turn became an anachronism.

Any direct practical application to our present needs is not just now demanded, but the suggestion occurs: May not the women's ministry of the future, like that of monastic times, be the offspring of new social and moral conditions of life?

Further Notes.

A. It is not in all cases easy to distinguish *prophetic women*, or women regarded in some quarters as Apostles, from those who attached themselves to the persons of Apostles as ministrants and companions. But the συνείσακτοι (see interesting article on "Subintroductæ" in *Dict. Chr. Ant.*) seem generally to have no functions of teaching. In several councils stringent regulations were passed as to the degrees of kinship beyond which a woman might not occupy the same house as a cleric related to her by blood, and warnings against the practice are found in the correspondence of Cyprian, Chrysostom, Jerome, and other Fathers.

B. *Carthage and Restrictions on Women.*—The points which suggest that the influence of Carthage acted towards the depression of ministrant women are these:

(1) Carthage was evidently more Roman than Rome in matters ecclesiastical. See very interesting remarks of Mommsen at end of his chapter on *Die Afrikanischen Provinzen*, and note the character of the inscriptions and frescoes in *Sta. Maria Antiqua* (*Papers of the British School of Rome*, vol. i.).

(2) The Carthaginian Church bore a remarkably *military* character (see Harnack's *Expansion of Christianity*).

(3) From the works of Tertullian and of Cyprian we see that

[1] See Prayer of Consecration as cited by Dr. Armitage Robinson, *loc. cit.*

feminine liberties had run to great excess, and thence, possibly, a reaction may have arisen.

(4) And chiefly, the Canons of Carthaginian Councils are in some cases remarkably severe in denying the claims of women. Some of the decrees against *subintroductæ* (see Note A) are of Carthaginian Councils. In the fourth Council (A.D. 398) we have a frequently quoted decree (99): *A woman, however learned or holy, may not take upon herself to teach in an assembly of men.* And again (100) a woman may not baptise (but this seems also to be forbidden in the *Apostolic Constitutions*).

On the other hand, *the decrees of the Fourth Council of Carthage are suspect*, and in all probability were not entirely African, so that too much stress must not be laid on this canon (99) as proceeding from Carthage. One canon of the same collection seems to give an official position (though only over women) to the *superior of consecrated women* (canon 97), who were to be examined and approved by the bishop.

C. Is it possible that the tendency to assimilate, not by way of analogy, but of exact coincidence, the orders of the Christian to that of the Jewish Church may have helped towards the disappearance, first of the name, then of the office, of the deaconess? Dr. Benson (*Cyprian*, p. 36) finds *deacons* first identified with *Levites* in the Second Council of Carthage, A.D. 390. There were no female Levites holding office among the Jews.

D. I have left out of consideration the possibility that in any of the dominant Churches the *presbeutides* were to *presbyters* what the *deaconesses* were to *deacons*. According to Epiphanius,[1] the term *presbeutides* only meant *elder* in the sense of *older* women. The decree of the Council of Laodicea (date doubtful) that "the appointment of so-called female elders or presidents shall not take place in the Church" has caused much debate.

[1] I have not yet been able to look up this reference.

APPENDIX VI

MINISTRIES OF WOMEN IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH

By Dr. C. H. Turner.

WIDOW, DEACONESS, AND VIRGIN IN THE FIRST FOUR CHRISTIAN CENTURIES.

There are three names under which the various ministries of women known in the early ages of the Church are especially grouped: widows, virgins, deaconesses. How far these names are those of offices or orders, and how far they were, and were kept, distinct from one another, are the two questions to which it is the object of this paper to direct attention.

I.—The Widow.

The name which meets us first and most constantly in primitive times is that of widows.

St. Luke, with his special interest in the poor and disinherited of the world, makes far more frequent mention of widows in his Gospel than do the other Evangelists. These were, of course, Jewish widows; but the widows of the Hebrew and Hellenist sections of the Christian community, mentioned in Acts vi. 1, were Christian widows supported at the expense of the Christian community. Doubtless they made a return for this material sustenance by being constant in prayer; there is no suggestion at all that they undertook definite duties or work as a condition of the support they received. That the class of widows was a prominent feature in other Christian communities besides that of Jerusalem is implied in the story of Dorcas in Acts ix. 36-41; but here, again, these widows of Joppa were, I believe, the recipients, not the ministrants of poor relief. Dorcas, who devoted herself to the making of clothes and undergarments, was not necessarily herself a widow; if I understand St. Luke's meaning aright, the widows who came to make lamentation over the corpse were those who had profited by her charitable work.

But the *locus classicus* about widows in the New Testament is, of course, the systematic body of directions given by St. Paul to Timothy in 1 Tim. v. 3-16; and careful exegesis of this passage will only serve to confirm the impressions derived from the indications of the Book of Acts. It is, indeed, quite astonishing that commentators should have stumbled in their interpretation, or have supposed that the class of widows for whom the Apostle makes provision were anything else, from the beginning to the end of these verses, than the recipients of the official poor relief of the Church.

The Apostle begins by excluding certain classes of widows as ineligible for his purpose—those, namely, who have children or grandchildren[1] living; for in such cases it is the bounden duty of the descendants to repay to the mother or grandmother the care which she had at an earlier period bestowed on them.[2] Only genuine widows or, in other words, widows who are left entirely alone can be enrolled on the Church list: the community, that is to say, will support only those who have no family to support them. But this preliminary classification is not all; there are tests of age, character, and past history to be satisfied before the applicant can be admitted to the position of a Church widow. Of age: for no one is to be put on the roll under sixty years of age, since in the case of younger women it might afterwards turn out that they desired to remarry, and it is better that they should remain free to do so than that they should profess themselves as widows and renounce their profession. Of character and history: that they should have been married once only, that they should have shown themselves in their active years not only good mothers of children, but lavish both of themselves and of their substance to the stranger, the poor, and the suffering. If they pass these tests, the community undertakes to be at charges for their material sustenance.[3] And the widows who are "widows indeed" spend in return their time, which they can no longer employ in active service, on continual "supplications and prayers" to God.

Thus the New Testament writings give us so far no hint at

[1] Τέκνα ἢ ἔκγονα; but D., some other MSS., Theodoret, and (in the *lemma* of a catena quotation) Theodore of Mopsuestia, read ἔγγονα. It is possible that the two words are only variant forms of the same meaning. Certainly the sense "grandchildren" seems necessary here.

[2] Theod. Mops. has, as so often, grasped the true interpretation; it is the children and the grandchildren, not the widows, whose "religion is to begin at home."

[3] Τίμα of verse 3 is apparently, like τιμή in verse 17, used of payments out of the Church funds.

all of any order of women engaged on works of mercy; the widows correspond, not to our sisters of charity, but to the occupants of our almshouses. And the evidence of the early post-Apostolic generations is on similar lines. Wherever widows are mentioned together with orphans, the emphasis is obviously being laid on the service which the Church is to render to them, not on that which they are to render to the Church; a whole catena of passages will be found at the foot of the page, which stretch from the Apostolic Fathers in one direction to the middle of the third century in the other, and illustrate the constant and close connection of widows with other classes for whom the Church provided care and relief.[1]

The latest of these passages, the enumeration of the numbers on the staff of the Roman Church by Pope Cornelius in his letter to Fabius of Antioch, is an interesting comment on the prescriptions of St. Paul in 1 Tim. v.; the list of the various orders of the clergy is followed without break by the mention of the 1,500 and more "widows and afflicted," "all of whom" were supported by the Roman community. So, too, the "catalogue" of 1 Tim. v. 9 is the list of those persons for whom the Church was at charges, whether their duties were active, as with the clergy, or passive, as with the widows, and whatever the service they rendered in return.

So far, it will be noticed, we have had no sort of hint that the widows worked, as the clergy of course worked in the various offices laid on them. The primary office of the widows was not that of Martha, but of Mary; they "intercede," as St. Polycarp

[1] Barnabas 20, widow and orphan; and in the near context ὁ πτωχός, ὁ καταπονούμενος, ὁ ἐνδεόμενος, ὁ θλιβόμενος. Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 6, widow, orphan, θλιβόμενος, δεδέμενος. Polyc., *Phil.* 6, widow, orphan, πένης. Hermas, *Vis.* ii. 4 3, widows and orphans. *Mand.*, viii. 10, widows, orphans, ὑστερούμενοι, and similarly *Sim.*, v. 3. 7; *Sim.*, i. 8, θλιβόμενοι, widows, orphans; *Sim.*, ix. 26. 2, widows and orphans; 27. 2, widows, and ὑστερούμενοι. Justin M., *Apol.*, i. 67, orphans, widows, sick, οἱ ἐν δεσμοῖς. Roman clergy ap. Cypr., *Ep.* viii. 3, widows, "thlibomeni, hi qui in carcere." Cornelius ap. Eus., *H. E.*, vi. 43. 11, widows with θλιβόμενοι. Lucian (see below, p. 90), γρᾴδια χήρας τινὰς καὶ παιδία ὀρφανά. *Cf. Didascalia*, ii. 4. 1, "amet orphanos ac viduas"; 25. 2, "bene administrate pupillis et viduis et afflictis et peregrinis"; 26. 8, "viduæ et orphani in typum altaris putentur." Both Hatch in the article "Widows"—an admirable collection of material—in vol. ii. (1880) of the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, and Lightfoot in the course of his demonstrative explanation of the παρθένοι αἱ λεγόμεναι χῆραι in Ignatius, *Smyrn.*, 13, assume that in Apostolic and sub-Apostolic times there were two sorts of widows: those who only received relief, and those who in return for maintenance undertook certain duties and were enrolled in an *ordo*, or catalogue. I find no evidence in support of such a dichotomy of the class of widows. But I prefer to state the case as I see it positively in the text, rather than to criticise in detail two such eminent authorities.

expresses it, following St. Paul, "for all men without ceasing," ἐντυγχανούσας ἀδιαλείπτως περὶ πάντων. St. Polycarp goes on to call the widows the "altar of God," θυσιαστήριον θεοῦ, and to remind them that everything laid on the altar is inspected with minute and meticulous care. That examination of the offering, ordered by the Jewish Law, corresponds to God's searching knowledge of the thoughts and secrets of the hearts of those consecrated to Him. If the widows placed on the roll of the Church are thus regarded as in some sense dedicated persons, it can hardly surprise us to find in Tertullian that they have a special place assigned to them in the assemblies of the Christian congregation, analogous to that of the presbyters: *de Pudic.* 13, "ad exorandam fraternitatem in ecclesiam . . . in medium ante viduas, ante presbyteres." It is no doubt in part this conception of the consecrated widow that made it so easy in later generations to bring the widow and the virgin into near relation to one another. But so far—that is to say, during the whole of the second century—the widow and not the virgin is the prominent figure. When St. Ignatius talks of the "virgins who are called widows," τὰς παρθένους τὰς λεγομένας χήρας, *Smyrn.* 13, he means (I follow Lightfoot's convincing exegesis), "those whom we call in the Church widows and who are really also virgins." So Clement of Alexandria compares the "gnostic souls" to the widow who through temperance is once more a virgin, and Tertullian speaks of widows who, not marrying again, are God's brides, God's maidens.[1] Obviously the widow, the status of widows, is an existing standard to which the newer idea of virgin and virginity is adapted.

One reference, indeed, to the widows, made by a heathen writer of the second century, might perhaps have been plausibly interpreted as implying active duties on their part, if the rest of the evidence had led us in this direction. In Lucian's account of the wanderings of the philosopher-quack Peregrinus Proteus there occurs a description of the latter's experiences as a leader of the Christians; arrested and thrown into prison, he throve upon the simplicity of his followers, who, failing to secure his release, surrounded him with every attention at which warders either tolerant or corrupt would connive. "Old hags, widows," they call them, and "orphan children" took up their position outside the gaol; Christian officials made a night of it with him, elaborate dinners were conveyed inside, and holy prayers of

[1] Clem. Al., *Strom.*, vii. 12; Tert., *Ad Uxorem*, 4: both quoted by Lightfoot on Ign., *Smyrn.* 13.

theirs were recited." It is suggested that the widows were here the agents of the charities exercised towards the prisoner; but the account does not go very far to support this, and the collocation of "orphan children" with widows rather suggests that the pensioners of the Christian community massed themselves by the prison, and spent their day there in order to demonstrate their sympathies and encourage the confessor by their presence and their prayers.

When we pass from the second century, we enter on the era of the composition of the Church orders. Of these the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus belongs to the earlier part, and the *Didascalia* to the close, of the third century, the *Apostolic Constitutions* to the middle or later years of the fourth, while the *Apostolic Church Order* is of more doubtful, perhaps of composite, date. In all these four documents we find enumerated the various classes of persons officially recognised by the Church, and in all four the widows have a place. In Hippolytus it is categorically stated that the widow is not ordained with any laying on of hands, because she has, properly speaking, no ministry; her duty is prayer, which is also the duty of all. The *Apostolic Church Order* shows the first beginnings of the transformation of the *Viduatus* into an active ministry; prayer is still given the first place, and of the three widows who are to be appointed for a normal small community, two are to "wait on prayer" for all those who are in trial, and with a view to revelations on any matter where such Divine intimations are needed; but the third is to attend on the sick, and to give the necessary information about them to the presbyters. But the mention of presbyters in this connection suggests that we have come down to a period after the distribution of presbyters in parochial spheres; and certainly the *Didascalia*, a Syrian Church order whose date cannot be many years removed one way or the other from the year 300, is a better source of information, since the widows occupy in it a position of quite special prominence. In the sort of Church for whose guidance the *Didascalia* was composed it is clear that no other type of woman, deaconess or virgin or what not, bulked anything like as large in the life of the community as did the widow.[1] Not the deaconess or the

[1] Or rather the body of widows, since the phrase "the position of widows" ("locus viduarum") presumably represents the Greek τὸ χηρικόν (*Didascalia*, iii. 2, 1, "in loco viduarum ne instituantur" = *Ap. Const.*, εἰς χηρικὸν μὴ ἐντασσέσθωσαν). I give my references to Funk's edition of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, where the Latin (or when the Latin is not extant, a Latin rendering of the Syriac) version of the *Didascalia*

virgin, but the widow and the orphan, are conjoined with deacons and presbyters as the Christian representatives of the Levites, or the priests and Levites, of the older dispensation. There were widows who thought that the name of the Christian widowhood was a passport to the kingdom—nay, says the writer, "propter nomen viduitatis non sunt dignæ quæ introeant in regnum, sed propter fidem et opera."[1]

Works are here given a place as well as faith; and obviously there was a growing tendency to utilise the help of the widows for various activities of the Church, and perhaps a still stronger tendency on the part of the widows to forsake the silent rôle hitherto assigned to them. But the writer is emphatic that the first and main duty of the widow is (as we have seen that it always had been) prayer. "Let the widow have no other care than to pray for those who have given alms to her support, and for the whole Church." "For this are ye appointed, O women, and you specially, O widows, that you pray and entreat the Lord God." With this end the widow must be a stay-at-home, and not a gad-about; it is her business to pray in her own house, not to gossip in other people's. "Let the widow realise that she is God's altar: now the altar of God does not wander hither and thither, but is set up in one place."[2] Therefore, any external activities must be strictly limited and subordinate. A widow may go to the homes of her fellow-widows or of the brethren, but only if they are sick, to fast for them and pray and lay hands on them. She may carry out any orders of the bishop and the deacons. If asked by pagan enquirers for the grounds of her Christian belief, she may answer as to faith in God, and righteousness, and that God is one and not many; but of more than this, and especially of the name of Christ, His Incarnation, and His Passion and His kingdom, she must not presume to speak, lest she bring discredit on religion, but must send the enquirer on to those whose office it is to instruct catechumens.

There is no change in the position of the widow when we pass from the *Didascalia* to the fourth-century compilation which was largely built up on it, the well-known *Apostolic Constitutions*. Not only are essential phrases of the older work, such as iii. 5, 2,

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is printed opposite the text of the Constitutions. But the caution must be given that the books and chapters are really not those of the original *Didascalia* at all, but those of the *Constitutions*: Funk has for convenience of reference assimilated the divisions of the earlier work to those of the later.

[1] *Didasc.*, ii. 2. 3; iii. 12. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, iii. 5. 2; vi. 2. 4.

"let the widow have no other care save prayer," incorporated unchanged in the new document, but where fresh mention is made of widows it is still in company with orphans, or with orphans and the unprotected and afflicted.[1]

Finally, we may cite one more witness, contemporary, with the *Constitutions*, St. Basil of Cæsarea, whose canons speak of the widow as "enrolled in the number of the widows and ministered to by the Church."[2] There is so far practically no uncertainty, if the evidence be taken as a whole: the widows are from beginning to end, not an order of ministry, but the objects of ministry, although as time goes on the rudiments of a transformation into a more active order begin to reveal themselves.

II.—The Deaconess.

The next class of women to come into prominence in the early Church are the deaconesses, though in comparison with the widows the mention of them is only sparse and local: in particular, to the Western Church they seem to have been wholly unknown, as such, down to the end of the period with which this paper deals.

The word "deaconess" is, indeed, strictly speaking, not appropriate even in the Eastern Churches of the first generations: διακόνισσα is a later form, and our earliest authorities use διάκονος as of common gender. So St. Paul commends to the Roman Christians Phœbe our sister, "who is also deacon" (οὖσαν καὶ διάκονον) of the Church at Cenchrea; and so, too, probably the *Didascalia*, the only other ante-Nicene document in which mention is made of deaconess *eo nomine* at all.[3] The first clearly accredited instance of διακόνισσα seems to be in the 19th canon of the Council of Nicæa.

It is an obvious conclusion that the word διάκονος is used in common of men and women, because the work done under that name, whether by men or women, was the same or similar work.

[1] *Ap. Const.*, ii. 35. 2; iii. 3. 2.

[2] *Ep.* cxcix. 24: χήραν τὴν καταλεγεῖσαν εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν χηρῶν, τουτέστι τὴν διακονουμένην ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

[3] Sanday and Headlam on Rom. xvi. 1. "Constant reference to (deaconesses) occurs in the *Apostolic Constitutions* in the earlier books under the name of διάκονος, in the later of διακόνισσα." The index to Funk's edition shows that this distinction is not strictly carried out, since ἡ διάκονος occurs also in viii. 13. 14, and ἡ διακόνισσα also in iii. 11. 3, vi. 17. 4. But in substance the distinction is just, and it suggests that the *Didascalia*, the third-century source of the first six books of the *Constitutions*, used διάκονος, and that the author of the *Constitutions* himself preferred διακόνισσα. But the Latin (fourth-century ?) translator of the *Didascalia* also used "diaconissa."

But what we must be careful to remember is that the word is in itself a very vague and general one, and hardly bore at first any official connotation at all. Christianity came to consecrate service, and διάκονος—which means nothing more nor less than "servant"—was a title that St. Paul did not disdain for himself, nor even for his Master, while the cognate verb διακονεῖν is put into our Lord's mouth in the Greek of all three Synoptists. We should represent to ourselves more effectually the meaning of the New Testament if instead of talking of "deacons" we talked of "servants"—"men-servants" and "women-servants." Moreover, the duties performed by these "servants" of the Church of Cenchrea (Rom. xvi. 1) or of Philippi (Phil. i. 1), or whatever Church it might be, were, if not menial, at any rate humble, and such as really corresponded to the name. Phœbe may probably enough have been a high-born or wealthy dame—her travelling to Rome on her own business suggests that—but she "served" the Church at Cenchrea exactly as a sister of mercy might do in modern times. As to deacons, we must, I think, quite disabuse ourselves of the idea that they had at first anything to do with the properly spiritual side of Christian work. Every Christian, indeed, was, according to his capacity, a missionary and a propagandist, and in that sense every Christian was undertaking what in less zealous times might be looked on as spiritual functions; but originally the deacon had, as I conceive, nothing at all to do with worship, or with preaching the Word, or with administering the Sacraments. At best he will have been, in that connection, a sacristan or server. If the Seven of the Acts were prototypes of the diaconate, it was on one side only of their work—on that which differentiated them from the Apostles, not on that which they shared with the Apostles; in the "serving" (διακονεῖν, Acts vi. 2) of tables, not in the working of miracles, or disputing with unbelievers, or evangelising the multitudes. The main business of the deacons was presumably in the work of poor relief; as soon as the bishop becomes a clearly marked figure in the community, the deacons are grouped round him as his personal staff. When we read in Justin Martyr that the deacons carry the sacred elements to those who are present and to the absent sick, this is not so much in any capacity of ministers of the altar as in the capacity of servants of the bishop and of the people, and of the sick and poor.[1]

[1] It remained one of the permanent duties of the deacon to seat the congregation, like a modern churchwarden (*Ap. Const.*, ii. 58).

So only does it become really intelligible that when St. Paul in 1 Tim. iii. has spoken of the qualifications of the "deacon" he goes on at once to speak of similar qualifications of the "women"—if, that is to say, we follow the ancient Greek expositors in interpreting the verse of women-deacons.[1] No doubt the exegesis of these Fathers was influenced by the fact that deaconesses were a familiar institution to them (Chrysostom and Theodoret happen, in fact, to be, in others of their writings, among our principal witnesses to the vigorous life of the order in the East), just as, conversely, their older contemporary, the Roman Ambrosiaster, not knowing of the existence in the Church of such an order, regards it as a Montanist error to suppose that St. Paul is speaking of the ordination of women as deacons: "in fact, what the Apostle wants to emphasise is that the virtues required in Christian ministers are required also of all the Christian people, and so he specially names women 'quæ inferiores videntur.'" There can be little doubt that the Greek commentators are right, and that women-deacons are mentioned here in close juxtaposition with the men. But, as we have just seen, this is not because they both have ministerial functions, but because neither has: deacons, men and women alike, are just the "servants" of the Church and of the poor.

Very soon began the development by which the deacons rose in dignity—partly, no doubt, from their close association with the bishop—and became subordinate ministers of worship and of the Sacraments; but the deaconess shared only in the preliminary stages of this evolution. What her history was in the ante-Nicene period we cannot trace in any detail.

There is no mention of the title between St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, written about A.D. 56, and the so-called *Didascalia*, a Church order composed (as has been said above) in Syria about the year 300. We have just seen that the Pastoral Epistles treat of what is no doubt the same class of persons,

[1] Chrysostom contents himself with saying that "some assert that the reference is to women generally—but that is not true; the Apostle is speaking of those women who held the position of the diaconate." Theodoret, as usual, is brief and pointed: "Women—that is, women-deacons; and what qualifications he required of male deacons, the same or similar qualifications he requires of women-deacons." The most interesting comment is, as so often, Theodore's: "St. Paul does not mean here that deacons must have wives of like quality with themselves, but that women who are appointed to the office of deacon must be adorned with similar zeal for well-doing." By μὴ διαβόλους Theodore understands that they must not repeat any of the confidences made to them by the women to whom they minister; νηφαλίους he rather oddly interprets as "sharp," "quick to act in their duties."

in juxtaposition with the men deacons, under the name "women." Pliny, too, half a century later, when he is writing to the Emperor Trajan that he found it his duty to extract the truth as to the Christian society by torturing two female slaves who were known, he tells us, as " ministræ," is obviously speaking of deaconesses. It is not absolutely clear what is the Greek word which he thus translates. But probably, like Phœbe before them and the women ministers of the *Didascalia* after them, these " ministræ " were known in their own Greek-speaking communities by the corresponding Greek word διάκονοι.

After Pliny's letter the curtain falls. The West bears no witness to their existence, and the silence of both Tertullian and the *Church Order* of Hippolytus cannot be accidental. The curious document conventionally known as the *Apostolic Church Order*—Egyptian, as it seems, and perhaps of the third century —while it has rather full directions about bishop, presbyters, readers, deacons (twice mentioned), widows and laity, interpolates after the close of the catalogue, as a sort of afterthought, a discussion on a ministry for women. " It will be as well," said Andrew, " to appoint a ministry for the women." " We have done so already," said Peter. . . . There follows some further strange matter, only so far germane to our purpose as it appears to suggest that our Lord had directed that women were not to stand together with men at Communion, and then the subject is resumed. James said, " How, then, can we in the case of women fix any ministry, except maybe a ministry of succour to needy fellow-women ?"[1] When St. Peter speaks of a ministry already appointed for women, the reference is presumably to the chapter on widows just above, where (as we have already seen, p. 91) one of the three widows is to act as parish nurse to the women who are sick. If this is so, it is an early indication of the process which was to attain considerable dimensions in the fourth and fifth centuries, when widow, deaconess, and virgin begin to be confused with one another. But that process was almost wholly post-Nicene, and it will tend to clearness if we try to keep the three classes as, what they were in origin and intention, wholly distinct from one another.

The *Didascalia* is the document which first reveals the dea-

[1] The Greek MS. has the abstract noun διακονία three times in this passage, and this is presumably correct; the Latin version (see Hauler's *Didascaliæ Apostolorum Fragmenta Veronensia Latina*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 99) gives on the first occasion " diaconissam," on the next " ministrationem," on the last " diaconiam."

coness as a regular member of an important order of ministry in the community. When enumerating the orders and classes set apart in the Christian society, the author borrows from Ignatius the comparison of the bishop to God, of the deacons to Christ, of the presbyters to the Apostles, and from Polycarp the correlation of the widows to the altar; he then completes the typology on his own account by comparing the deaconess with the Holy Spirit.[1] The fact that the word "Spirit," neuter, of course, in Greek and masculine in Latin, is feminine in Syriac, may or may not have influenced this Syrian author. In any case the deacon and deaconess have acquired an advance upon their humbler prototypes of New Testament times more startling even than that which has befallen the bishop.

Detailed information about the ministry of the deaconess is given us at a later point in the *Didascalia*.[2] The bishop is to select out of the whole community fit assistants for his work —men-deacons for many necessary objects, women-deacons for service among women. Three particular departments of this service are emphasised. There is first the visiting of Christian women in pagan households, where a deacon would not be allowed to see them. Then there is attendance on women who are sick, and the washing of convalescents. Lastly, there is the ministry of the deaconess in the baptism of women catechumens: the deaconess anoints the body, the bishop anoints the head, and the deaconess again instructs the newly baptised women that the seal of baptism must be kept unbroken in chastity and holiness.

The *Apostolic Constitutions* do not give us quite the next evidence in order of time, but it is convenient to notice here how the compiler in his own work adapts the position of the deaconess as he found it in the documents upon which he worked—namely, the *Didascalia* and the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus. Speaking generally, the importance of the deaconess is still growing in the days of the *Constitutions*. It is true that we no longer hear of any teaching given by the deaconesses, and, of course, less is made of the difficulty of the clergy entering pagan households at a date when fewer households were pagan. But on the other side of the count a new function is attributed to the deaconess in the seating and supervision of the female part of the congregation; in the *Didascalia* the deacon had charge of

[1] Ign., *Trall.* 3, etc.; Polycarp, *Philipp.* 4; *Didasc.*, ii. 26. 6. (As before I give Funk's chapter and section divisions of this work.)
[2] *Didasc.*, iii. 16. 1-4.

both the men and the women.[1] And similarly, while in the *Didascalia* the widows are bidden to be subordinate and respectful to bishops and deacons, the *Constitutions* add, "and also to the presbyters and to the deaconesses." Perhaps the trail of Church establishment with its social consequences is here visible: the widows are poor, the deaconesses—so the fourth-century evidence leads one to suspect—are ladies, and I think this is the meaning of the constitutor, when he directs that the deaconess should be a virgin or widow of one marriage, and if the latter, then "of good character and position," πιστὴ καὶ τιμία.[2]

But the most fundamental change in the position of the deaconess introduced in the *Constitutions* is in the eighth book, where the enumeration of the orders or classes recognised in the Church is developed out of the similar enumeration in the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus. Hippolytus had not mentioned the deaconess; the *Constitutions* insert her name between those of deacon and sub-deacon. Hippolytus had laid it down that no other than the major orders of bishop, presbyter, and deacon should receive the imposition of hands; the *Constitutions*, while they agree with Hippolytus that confessor, widow, virgin, and exorcist are not ordained by imposition of hands, yet for the making of the deaconess, the sub-deacon, and the reader, they prescribe the same rite as for the major orders: the bishop is to lay his hands on them, and to accompany the imposition of hands with an appropriate prayer.

Now, in the appointment of reader and sub-deacon we see that the rite of laying on of hands is an innovation made by the constitutor upon his model: is there reason to suppose that in the case of the deaconess, where we have no definite precedent from Hippolytus to guide us—since he did not mention deaconess at all—the laying on of hands upon her was no innovation, but represented an inherited tradition? We may take it as admitted that the later Greek Church did ordain its deaconesses in the full sense of the word; the 15th canon of the Council of Chalcedon appears to use not only the verb "to ordain," but the noun "imposition of hands" in speaking of them,[3] and

[1] *Didasc.*, ii. 58. 5; 57. 6, 7: "Diaconorum alter foras stet ad portam spectans introeuntes." *Ap. Const.*, ii. 58. 6: τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ ποιείτω καὶ ἡ διάκονος ταῖς ἐπερχομέναις γυναιξὶν πτωχαῖς ἤτοι πλουσίαις. And *cf.* the same writer as Ps.-Ignatius, *Antioch.* 12: ἀσπάζομαι τὰς φρουρὰς τῶν ἁγίων πυλώνων τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ διακόνους.

[2] *Ap. Const.*, iii. 8, 1; vi. 17. 4.

[3] Χειροτονεῖν, χειροθεσία. I say "appears to use" because our oldest MS. of Greek canons, that of the monastery of Patmos, does read χειροτονίαν for χειροθεσίαν. But by the fifth century χειροτονία, even if it were the right reading, would, I imagine, imply ordination with laying on of hands.

already in the fourth century St. Basil's canons speak of the body of the deaconess as "consecrated."[1] As to the *praxis* of the Greek Church a generation earlier than the date of the *Constitutions*, the evidence of the 19th of the Nicene canons ought to be decisive; but, as with so many canons of the earlier Councils—at any rate, as their text has come down to us—the language is so obscurely phrased that it is impossible to be quite sure that one has correctly grasped the point. The Nicene Fathers did not at all conceive of themselves as legislating for a long posterity, and expressed their meaning in language which was doubtless intelligible to people familiar with the conditions of the problem, but it is not so intelligible to us.

The subject-matter of the canon is the reception into the Church of converts from the heresy of Paul of Samosata. They were to be rebaptised: and it follows, of course, that clerical converts—if they were accepted to minister as Catholic clergymen—would have to be reordained; if they were not accepted as satisfactory for the ministry, no question of reordination would arise. And the terms for the clergy would apply *mutatis mutandis* to the deaconesses and generally to everyone on the "canon"—that is, on the list of the officials and stipendiaries of the Church. So far it is plain-sailing enough: the difficulty lies in the concluding sentence: "But we have made mention of the deaconesses that are counted as such; since they have no sort of laying on of hands, they must on all grounds be counted among the laity." This must certainly, I think, imply that these Paulianist deaconesses had not been ordained by imposition of hands; and as there is not the least reason to suppose that the Paulianists would have dropped any existing custom of laying hands on deaconesses, it follows that, at the time of their separation from the Church, the Church itself had no such custom. What is not clear is whether the Council means that, as *no* deaconesses are appointed by imposition of hands, the question of reordination in their case does not, strictly speaking, arise at all, or whether it means that as Catholic deaconesses are, while Paulianist deaconesses are not, thus appointed, the latter are on any showing lay persons and nothing more. Perhaps the second interpretation is the more likely, though the point must remain undecided: on the one view the ordination of deaconesses by laying on of hands will have been introduced into the Greek Church between the dates of the Council of Nicæa and of the

[1] Καθιερωμένον (*Ep.* cxcix., § 44). But it is perhaps doubtful whether this implies ordination.

compilation of the *Constitutions;* on the other view it will have been introduced between the date of the Council and the date of the Paulianist schism: in the one case during the half-century after, in the other case during the half-century before, A.D. 325.

Anyhow, it does not admit of doubt that as the fourth century wears on we find the deaconess enjoying a position of high distinction in the Churches of the Eastern Empire. The devout women who run parishes are no invention of modern days: their activities in the patristic age were on an even larger scale. Theodoret in his *History* tells us stories of two different deaconesses at Antioch in the time of Julian, one of whom kept in her home a band of girls vowed to lifelong virginity; both were obviously persons of independent means, and accustomed to act on their own account.[1] St. Basil writes to two deaconesses of Samosata, daughters of a count, addressing them as "Your orderliness," and expounding briefly the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.[2] When Theodosius the Great, by a law of 390,[3] forbade anyone to be admitted into the "diaconissarum consortium" until she had made provision for handing over all personal and household and family articles of value, and all such property as was not at her free disposal by will, to her children or relatives or other heirs, the assumption throughout seems to be that the deaconess is likely to be a woman of good social position: "nihil de monilibus et supellectili, nihil de auro argento *ceterisque claræ domus insignibus* sub religionis defencione consumat." Several of St. Chrysostom's warmest supporters in his troubles were deaconesses of the Church of Constantinople; and of these Pentadia was the widow of a consul, and Olympias had been sought in marriage, when a young widow, by a kinsman of the emperor.[4]

Of course, as deaconesses could not be married women with husbands, it goes without saying that they must have been either widows or virgins. But there does not seem so far to be any tendency to confuse them with either the widows or the virgins in the technical sense. From the widows they were distinct as being the organs, not the objects, of ministry. If the line is less clear between the deaconess and the virgin, who at any rate came probably in the main from the same strata of society, there

[1] Theodoret, *H. E.*, iii. 14, 19.

[2] Τῇ κοσμιότητι ὑμῶν (Basil, *Ep.* cv.).

[3] Cod. Theod., xvi. 2. 27 (Milan, June 21, 390). Other provisions of this law are cited by Sozomen, *H. E.*, vii. 16, so that it must have been a well-known enactment.

[4] I derive my references to Theodoret and Chrysostom from *The Ministry of Deaconesses*, by Deaconess Cecilia Robinson (London, 1898).

are still the differences of age and of work and of organisation. The deaconess was not young; she derived her name from her active duties; she was recognised openly as such. The virgin might be a mere girl; she had no duties in the world as a virgin; she came only by degrees to be openly known as such. And the deaconess was local, while the virgin was to be found, as we shall now see, everywhere.

III.—The Virgin.

The special honour paid to the unmarried state, when deliberately chosen for the kingdom of heaven's sake, has its roots far back in the origins of Christian history; it is represented both in the Gospels and in St. Paul. But here, even more than in the case of widows or deaconesses, there was no thought, for two centuries and more after Christ, of anything like an order of virgins. There is a quite singular unanimity among all our earliest witnesses in emphasising the individual and private and even secret character of such vows of celibacy as were recognised in the ancient Church. "If anyone can remain in virgin purity for honour of the Lord's body, let him so remain, but without boasting himself; if he boast, he is undone; if his vow be known farther than to the bishop, he has lost his purity," writes Ignatius to Polycarp (*Ad Polyc.* 5) at the beginning of the second century. We pass on a hundred years, and we find Tertullian still maintaining that the maiden devoted to the celibate life should be known to God only; rather than boast of her virginity, she should, as he puts in it his paradoxical fashion, "lie in some sense to men that God alone should be shown the truth."[1] The Montanist virgins whom he addresses, or some of them, had attempted, unlike their contemporaries in age, to remain unveiled, and so to make ostentation of their purpose of virginity; and the custom of some (probably the Western) Churches was pleaded in favour of the distinction. The first beginnings, that is, are here visible of the process which separated the virgin outwardly from her fellow-Christians. But Tertullian will have none of it, and it is possible that his influence did something to retard the process in the West. Certainly Hippolytus in his *Apostolic Tradition*, although by speaking of "the virgins" he seems to imply that they were in some sense a recognised class

[1] *De Virginibus, Velandis* 2: "Soli Deo notas, quibus, præter quod a Deo non ab hominibus captanda gloria est, etiam ipsum bonum suum erubescendum est." *Ibid.*, 16: "Adimple habitum mulieris, ut statum virginis serves; mentire aliquid . . . ut soli Deo exhibeas veritatem."

as having a common vocation, yet is emphatic that virginity is a matter of inward dedication only, unaccompanied by any outward rite: the bishop "shall not lay hand on a virgin, but it is with her heart alone she became a virgin."

St. Cyprian closes the list of our ante-Nicene witnesses from the West; and Cyprian, like Tertullian, devotes a treatise to the proper dress of the virgins. But instead of directing, like his "master," that the virgin should be indistinguishable from other women, Cyprian has to face a tendency on the virgin's part to be only too much like other women in the matter of clothes and jewels. But while the bishop of Carthage urged that the virgin ought not only to be a virgin, but ought to be seen and understood to be one by the conspicuous plainness of her attire,[1] this was not the view of all the virgins of Carthage. Some at least of them were wealthy women, and they argued that they had a right to wear their jewellery: "Locupletem te dicis et divitem" is the phrase with which one paragraph after another of the *De Habitu Virginum* is commenced. Their social status was obviously like that of the fourth-century deaconesses in the East, though there is nothing to suggest that they resembled them in active works of mercy. From the widows they are sharply distinguished not only on the score of their worldly position, but also because, unlike the widows, they consisted of women of various ages, young as well as old; those advanced in years are to advise the younger, those of tender age are to be zealous in rivalry with one another.[2] If at one point virgins and widows are spoken of together, that would seem to be simply a consequence of the fact that these were the two classes of women specially recognised by the Church.[3]

But neither in Tertullian nor in Hippolytus nor in Cyprian are the virgins in any real sense an order. They are not engaged as such in works of mercy; it is not the dedicated virgins, but the ordinary Christian woman of whom Tertullian tells us that when she goes out it is when there is someone sick among the brethren to be visited, or to attend the offering of the sacrifice or the ministry of the Word of God.[4] They have no liturgical

[1] *De Habitu Virginum*, 5: "Virgo non esse tantum, sed et intellegi debet et credi; nemo cum virginem viderit dubitet an virgo sit."

[2] *Ibid.*, 24: "Provectæ annis, iunioribus facite magisterium; minores natu, præbete comparibus incitamentum."

[3] *Ibid.*, 15: "Non virgines tantum aut viduas, sed et nuptas . . . et omnino feminas."

[4] *De Cultu Feminarum*, ii. 11: "Vobis autem nulla procedendi causa nisi tetrica; aut imbecillus aliquis ex fratribus visitandus, aut sacrificium offertur, aut Dei verbum administratur."

functions, any more than other women: "A woman may not speak in church, or teach, or baptise, or offer the Eucharist, or assume a man's (to say nothing of a priest's) office"; and in all these respects a virgin is in the same position as other women.[1] Nor, on the other hand, is there, as yet, any canonically binding lifelong vow. Cyprian, with all the impassioned praises which he lavishes on the virgin life—if the martyrs are those who bring forth fruit an hundredfold, the virgins are those who bear it sixtyfold—is so conscious of the perils that attach to those who cannot or will not persevere in it that he declares with the Apostle that such had better marry, "melius nubant."[2]

That the relative importance of the virgins as a class was smaller in the Eastern Church of the third century than in the Western seems to follow from the absence of any mention of them in the Eastern Church Orders of that period; they are not named in the *Apostolic Church Order* nor (so far as I have noticed, in the *Didascalia*. That there were both men and women who devoted themselves for Christ's sake to the celibate life is witnessed to, for that century and that part of the Church, by Origen[3] and by the pseudo-Clementine Epistles on Virginity;[4] the latter document (1.12) implies that those who are addressed visit widows and orphans and the poor, and cure demoniacs with their gift of healing, and serve the sick, and show charity to the stranger; but it also speaks of their addressing the congregation of the Church, and altogether there is nothing to suggest that it is women rather than men whom the writer has in mind. But from the beginning of the fourth century onwards the institution of virgins is in full vigour: perhaps first in Egypt, and in Catholic circles generally rather than among the Arians. The cause of St. Athanasius found one of its main supports in the ascetic and monastic movement, and the holy virgins were a special target for the hostility of Arians under Constantius and of pagans under Julian. After the middle of the century we meet with them in all parts and among all parties, and they are now an organised body with a recognised position. At Jerusalem St. Cyril (*Catecheses*, iv. 24) addresses the τάγμα or "order" of monks and

[1] *De Virg. Vel.*, 9: "Non permittitur mulieri in ecclesia loqui, sed nec docere nec tinguere nec offerre nec ullius virilis muneris (nedum sacerdotalis officii) sortem sibi vindicare; quæramus an aliquid horum virgini liceat . . . non licet."

[2] *Ep.*, iv. 2 (*Ep.*, lxxvi. 6; *De Hab. Virg.*, 22).

[3] *C. Celsum*, vii. 48.

[4] On these epistles see Lightfoot, *S. Clement*, i. 100, 407, who rightly rejects the excessive claims for their antiquity which some scholars have put forward.

virgins. In Asia Minor St. Basil speaks of the Church advancing in strength and the "order" of virgins increasing in numbers. Widowhood is declared a lesser rank than virginity.[1] And the Arian compiler of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and pseudo-Ignatian letters, little though he loved asceticism, is hardly behind the Catholic writers in his indirect testimony to the existence and importance of the Church virgins. Where his model the *Didascalia* had spoken of widows, or widows and orphans, he regularly intercalates a mention of the virgins.[2] Where he enumerates on his own account the different sections of the ecclesiastical organism, the virgins find their constant place—above the widows if below the deaconesses.[3]

Now, the course of our investigation has, if I am right, shown us that in early or ante-Nicene times there is really no confusion whatever between widow, deaconess, and virgin. They were throughout distinct persons, with distinct qualifications and distinct duties: distinct, too, in the times, and sometimes also in the places, at which they acquire prominence, and distinct in the degree and the sense in which they can be spoken of as constituting an order in the Church. The widow is both primitive and universal, and she is from the first enrolled in a class; but the class is not, and substantially it never became in early times, a ministering class: what it gave to the Church was not ministry, but intercessory prayer. The female deacon is primitive, though from the complete absence of any traces of her in the West we can hardly say universal; but what the steps were which connected the primitive women servants of the Church with the wealthy and influential deaconesses of the Greek Church of the fourth century our scanty evidence does not enable us to say. We do not know whether evolution or revival would be the truer word to characterise the course of the history. Individual self-dedication to the virgin life goes back to the earliest times, and was doubtless found in all quarters of the Church; but it was of its very essence to be private, and Tertullian urges that virgins ought not to be, Cyprian deplores that in fact they are not, distinguishable in outward appearance from other women. Doubtless the impulse to the virgin life received a great impetus with the rise of monasticism, and just as the solitary life for men was quickly followed by the cœnobitic, so too, about the

[1] *Ep.* cxcix. (*Ep. Canonica* ii., *ad Amphilochium*, 18).
[2] *Ap. Const.*, ii. 26. 3, 26. 8, 57. 8; iii. 6. 4, *cf.* 15. 5.
[3] *Ibid.*, viii. 10. 10, 12. 43, 13. 14, 30. 2; Ps.-Ign., *Tars.* 9; *Philipp.* 15; *Antioch.* 12.

middle of the fourth century, we rather suddenly begin to hear of the body or order of virgins. But it may broadly be asserted that right through the first four centuries the three names of widow, deaconess, virgin, are, so far as they are names for orders of women, kept quite sharply separate from one another.

What, then, are we to say if we find so eminent a writer as Mgr. Duchesne penning the following sentence (*Origines du Culte Chrétien*, ed. 3, p. 342): "A côte des diacres du sexe masculin, l'ancienne Eglise connaissait des diaconesses, qui portaient aussi le nom de Veuves, χῆραι, *viduæ*, ou même de Vierges, *virgines canonicæ*"? Of the really "ancient Church," the Church of the first four centuries, this statement is, if the argument of the present paper has any validity at all, quite incorrect. But Duchesne was doubtless thinking of the fifth and sixth centuries; and it is true that a time did come when the outlines that had once been sharply defined came to be blurred and indistinct. If the 12th canon of the *Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiqua* (generally but wrongly known as the Fourth Council of Carthage) directs that the widows or *sanctimoniales* who are chosen for the ministry of the baptism of women should be so prepared for their office that they may be able suitably and straightforwardly to teach unlearned and peasant women before their baptism how to answer the questions asked at baptism and how to live after receiving it, we have a complete mixture of the work of the deaconess with the names of the widow and (in effect) of the virgin. But the *Statuta* are a Gallic code of the second half of the fifth century; and it does not fall within our present purpose or our present limits to trace the process by which the three primitive institutions of the widow, the deaconess, and the virgin, after the period of their separate development in the creative epoch of early Christian history, tended in the centuries of decline to lose their individuality, to become merged in one another, and ultimately, in the Western Church, to survive only in the form of conventual life.

[Note.—Dr. Turner wishes it stated that owing to an accident with proofs this paper has not received his final corrections, and that it will appear in a forthcoming number of the *Constructive Quarterly* with his revisions.]

APPENDIX VII

ON THE EARLY HISTORY AND MODERN REVIVAL OF DEACONESSES[1]

By the late Dr. William Collins, Bishop of Gibraltar.

1. *The Ministry of Deaconesses.* By Deaconess Cecilia Robinson. With an Introduction by Randall T. Davidson, D.D., Lord Bishop of Winchester, and an Appendix by J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity. (London, 1898.)
2. *Herzog-Hauck's Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche.* Vierter Band. Artt. "Diakonen- und Diakonissenhäuser," by Theodor Schäfer, and "Diakonissin," by Hans Achelis. (Leipzig, 1898.)
3. *De diaconis et diaconissis veteris ecclesiæ liber commentarius.* By Caspar Ziegler. (Wittebergæ, 1678.)
4. *Dissertatio de diaconissis primitivæ ecclesiæ.* By Joh. Phil. Odelem. (Lipsiæ, 1700.)
5. *Acta Sanctorum Bollandi,* etc. September, vol. i. "Tractatus præliminaris de ecclesiæ diaconissis." By Jo. Pinius. (Parisiis et Romæ, 1868.)
6. *De diaconissis. Commentatio archæologica.* By A. J. C. Pankowski, Penitentiary and Preacher in Passau Cathedral. (Ratisbonæ, 1866.)
7. *Deaconesses; or The Official Help of Women in Parochial Work and in Charitable Institutions.* By J. S. Howson, D.D. (London, 1862; reprinted, with additions, from the *Quarterly Review* for September, 1860.)
8. *Women's Work in the Church.* By J. M. Ludlow. (London, 1865.)
9. *The Diaconate of Women in the Anglican Church.* Five chapters on the present attitude [*sic*] of the question. By Dean Howson. (London, 1886.)

It is a very common thing, as Archbishop Trench long ago pointed out, for words to suffer a certain "deterioration and degeneration"[2] in meaning. This has unquestionably been the case with the word *deaconess.* It originally denoted a distinct order in the ministry of the Church, having a well-marked status (although it may have varied somewhat in different places) and duties more or less clearly defined. In modern days it has come

[1] [Reprinted, by permission of the editor and publishers, from the *Church Quarterly Review,* January, 1899, pp. 302 *ff.* A few notes have been added in square brackets].

[2] *On the Study of Words,* p. 77 (18th edition, 1882).

to be used far more loosely, and, in fact, may now denote anything or nothing.

This is to be accounted for by two distinct causes. In the first place, although an attempt has been made to revive it at the present day (and, indeed, many would say that it is now in existence), the ancient ecclesiastical office of deaconess has been practically non-existent since the early Middle Ages. Consequently, there has been nothing to keep the accurate meaning of the word before people's eyes. And in the second place, the office of deaconess, like the parallel office of deacon, has at all times found favour with bodies out of communion with the Church. Although, of course, these have given it a lax meaning and a status which is all their own, they have continually adopted it and used it: partly, no doubt, in not unnatural protest against the gradual disuse of the office within the Church, partly, perhaps, owing to the fact that, having less to imperil, these bodies have always been less careful in controlling and circumscribing women's work than the Church has.

We propose, therefore, in the first place to make an inquiry as to the nature and history of the ancient office itself, and then to examine in detail the attempts which have been made in modern days to revive and utilise it.

Something must be said, to begin with, as to the existing books on the subject. They are rather numerous, as will be seen from the list at the head of this article.[1] Some of them, however, are exceedingly scarce. Ziegler's classical dissertation, for instance, only the last chapter of which is devoted to the deaconess, is to be found neither in the British Museum nor in the Cambridge University Library. The same is the case with Odelem,[2] whilst there appears to be no copy of Pankowski in the Bodleian. Again, although much valuable work was done by the older writers, Ziegler and Odelem and Pinius, in the way of collecting material, they cannot be said to have used it very discriminatingly; whilst some of the later writers have written too much as advocates to be in a good position for investigating the facts. Dean Howson, for example, claimed to have collected instances of the early establishment of a female diaconate in

[1] The history of the deaconess has also been treated in its place, and with their wonted learning, by Morinus, Bingham, Assemani, Suicer, etc., and in the following works, which the present writer has only glanced at: Schäfer's *Die weibliche Diakonie*, and some papers by A. W. Dieckhoff, entitled "Die Diakonissen der alten Kirche," in the *Monatsschrift für Diakonie und innere Mission* for 1877.

[2] The Bodleian Library possesses three copies of the former and two of the latter.

the Church "from various places visited by Christ's Apostle, from Corinth, from Ephesus, from Philippi, from Rome,"[1] a feat which he accomplished by including every reference that he could find in St. Paul's Epistles to the work of women. Still, it must not be forgotten that Dr. Howson, by his useful essay and his speeches on the subject, did more than anyone else to make the subject known in the English Church. Dr. Ludlow, that indefatigable friend of all good causes, had written his essay years before Dr. Howson's *Deaconesses* was published, but was unable to secure a hearing until the subject had thus been popularised;[2] and yet *Women's Work in the Church* is the better book by far, and its seventh section remains to this day the best statement of the position of the deaconess before the Roman law as in the fullest sense a member of the clerical body.

But the whole subject is not free from difficulty. The word *diaconissa* itself, for example, sometimes means the wife of a deacon, just as *presbytera* is used to denote the wife of a presbyter, and *episcopissa* for the wife of a bishop.[3] But far more confusing than this is the fact that later writers have classed the deaconess with the widows and virgins, and assumed in consequence that whatever is said of the widow may be applied to the deaconess, and *vice versa*. This confusion is made, more or less generally, by most of the writers who have dealt with the subject.[4] It is made even in the learned article by Dr. Hans Achelis, which was published in the early months of this year;[5] and it is only in Deaconess Cecilia Robinson's interesting book, the historical chapters of which are largely due to the scholarly care of her brother, Professor Armitage Robinson,[6] that we have for the first time a succinct and accurate account of the office of the deaconess in early days. No doubt the book has its faults: the evidence is not always presented as clearly as it might be, and a good deal of later evidence has been overlooked. However, Miss Robinson would probably be the last to make for her book

[1] *Diaconate of Women*, etc., p. 21. The chief interest of this little volume is to be found in the singularly discordant answers, by well-known scholars, to a series of questions on the subject drawn up by a committee of which Dr. Howson was chairman (pp. 59 *ff.*).

[2] *Women's Work in the Church*, pp. viii. *f.*

[3] See Du Cange, *s.v.*; and for *presbytera*, St. Greg., *Dial.*, lib. iv., c. 11 (Migne, *P. L.*, lxxvii. 335).

[4] Ludlow and Pankowski, it should be said, are free from this confusion, although even they adduce passages which do not really refer to the deaconess at all (*e.g.*, the former quotes Tert., *Ad Uxor.*, i. 7, and the latter Tert., *De Virg. Vel.*, 9).

[5] It is to be regretted that the typography of this article, and indeed of many other parts of the new Herzog, is not equal to its learning. Misprints abound, and unfortunately they are especially common in references.

[6] *Op. cit.*, pp. xvii-xviii.

the somewhat arrogant claim that the publishers put forth in their advertisement, that it "may be regarded as authoritative";[1] and for the rest, she is to be congratulated on having done a very useful piece of work.

We now turn from the books to the subject itself. The diaconate derives its origin, as we all know, from the appointment by the Apostles of seven men, chosen by the Church, to be over "the daily ministration." Other functions gradually clustered about them, in the course of that delegation of functions by the Apostles which gradually gave shape to the whole Christian ministry. By degrees their position "about the altar," as it was called—*i.e.*, in the Christian ministry—took its later shape; but they never ceased to be especially connected with matters of administration, and to be in an especially close relation of dependence upon the bishop.

There was, however, no antecedent reason why women should not have a share in their original function of the "serving of tables," more especially as the proper care of the widows was the immediate object in view. The very fact that women had ministered to the Lord of their substance might seem to mark them out specially for such an office.[2] And, indeed, there can be no question that, according to the evidence of the New Testament, the office might be, and actually was, held by women. Phœbe clearly held it;[3] and it is not too much to say, in the words of Bishop Lightfoot, that she "is as much a deacon as Stephen or Philip is a deacon."[4] Indeed it cannot be doubted that in the First Epistle to Timothy we have directions as to the qualifications for the office.[5] We may not, of course, conclude that women deacons were to be found everywhere—in fact, we shall give reasons presently for thinking that they only existed in Greece and the East, in regions where the seclusion of women "debarred them from ministrations of men."[6] But there can be no question as to their existence.

[1] See the advertisements at the end of the book, p. 4.

[2] This has at all times been perceived—*e.g.*, by the author of the *Syriac Didascalia*, by Abailard, and by the Zwinglian Bullinger (*Decades*, v. 3, p. 107, ed. Parker Society).

[3] Rom. xvi. 1: *Φοίβην . . . οὖσαν διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς.*

[4] In his Primary Charge (quoted by Miss Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 10).

[5] 1 Tim. iii. 11. Bishop Lightfoot observes that this "would hardly have been rendered 'even so must *their wives* be grave,' if the theory of the definite article had been understood; for our translators would have seen that the reference is to the *γυναῖκας διακόνους*, 'women-deacons' or 'deaconesses,' and not to the wives of the deacons" (*On a Fresh Revision of the New Testament*, p. 114).

[6] Lightfoot, "Essay on the Christian Ministry" (*Philippians*, p. 189, 3rd ed.).

Nor do we find in the New Testament any sign of that confusion between the deaconess and the widow which modern writers have been so ready to assume. The widow is indeed there, and no little care is given to the regulations respecting her.[1] But, to quote Bishop Lightfoot once more, "the two offices of Deaconess and Widow had different starting-points," the one being "distinctly ministerial," and the other "distinctly eleemosynary."[2] The widows, in other words, were recipients of the alms, and objects of the care, of the Church; whilst the deaconess existed in order to serve both them and other members of the Church, in such ways as women could serve better than men. Functions of a strictly ecclesiastical kind were by degrees entrusted to them as to the men deacons; and although later on they were gradually differentiated from these,[3] yet they continued to form an integral part of the regular ministry of the Church, on a level entirely different from that of the enrolled widows.

It is true, however, that there was a gradual change in the *status* of the widows, and that this change is most marked in the regions where there is no sign of the existence of the deaconess, and where, accordingly, she may have in some sense supplied the place which the deaconess otherwise occupied. Professor Robinson speaks of the widows as "a numerous and somewhat troublesome body of Church pensioners. Amongst their besetting sins were grumbling at their fellow-widows who happened to get larger doles, and making begging expeditions instead of being content with the supplies which reached them in the normal way."[4] This is a somewhat harsh description of the widow as she appears in the *Apostolic Constitutions*: it is a positive libel on the widow in general, and especially as we see her in the West.[5] For (*a*) regular functions of prayer, fasting, nursing, and the like, became attached to her office, and brought with it corresponding honour.[6] (*b*) The Apostolical injunction as to the age of enrolment amongst the widows of the Church (sixty years[7]) tended to be lowered in the West, so that they were, as a class, capable of doing more of this regular work.

[1] 1 Tim. v. 3-11.

[2] Speech in the Convocation of York in 1884 (Miss Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 59 *n.*).

[3] See *post*.

[4] See his Appendix in *The Ministry of Deaconesses*, p. 176.

[5] See the evidence given in Thomassin, *Vetus et Nova Disciplina*, pars I., lib. iii., cc. 42, 50.

[6] *Canones Hippolyti*, ix. 59: "Viduis propter copiosas orationes, infirmorum curam, et frequens ieiunium præcipuus [honor tribuatur]" (*Texte u. Unters.*, vi. 4, p. 75, and Achelis's comment, pp. 174 *f.*).

[7] 1 Tim. v. 9.

(*c*) This also brought them into closer relations with a body of rather more recent growth, the consecrated virgins. It has indeed been suggested, without sufficient proof, that St. Ignatius's salutation to "the virgins who are called widows"[1] implies that even in his days the line of demarcation between the two had been broken down; and Tertullian actually mentions,[2] though as a monstrous thing, the case of a virgin of twenty years who had been enrolled amongst the widows in "a certain place." It would be rash to assume that the qualification of actual widowhood was ever dispensed with as an ordinary thing; but it is clear that regularly defined duties came to be entrusted to the widows,[3] and that, in some places at least, they and the virgins were grouped together.[4] But although a plausible case might be made out for the theory that the line of demarcation between widows and virgins was broken down, there is really nothing in early days to suggest a similar confusion of the widow and the deaconess;[5] and such a view finds its chief support in the *a priori* assumptions of a period in which the office of deaconess was unknown. For even Dr. Achelis, who holds that at the end of the second century a female diaconate was everywhere included under the name of the widows, is compelled to acknowledge that there was no such office at Rome in the third century, and to assume that the deaconess of the *Syriac Didascalia* holds a new office, quite distinct from that of the "widow or deaconess" of the second century.

[1] *Ad Smyrn.*, c. xiii. See Lightfoot's note.

[2] *De Virg. Vel.*, c. 9.

[3] See the passage from the Apostolic Church Order, below, p. 113, note 7, and *cf.* Lucian, *De Morte Peregr.* 12, St. Jerome, *Ep.* 52 (Migne, *P. L.*, xxii. 532), and the description of the Viduate given by Tertullian, *De Virg. Vel.*, c. 9.

[4] *Canones Hippolyti*, xxxii. 157: "Virginum et viduarum est, ut sæpe ieiunent et orent in ecclesia" (*ubi supra*, p. 163).

[5] Two apparent exceptions may be mentioned here. (*a*) *Cod. Theod.*, XVI. ii. 27, 28, laws made at Milan in 390. In the former the age of admission of deaconesses is fixed at sixty years, and they are to be widows who have borne children, "according to the precept of the Apostle"; and in the latter "deaconesses or widows" are permitted to give away their property during life, but not to leave it by will, "uti solent mulieres faciliores et liberaliores esse in ultimis voluntatibus, quam inter vivos." But these are, after all, secular enactments; the latter may only be couched in vague terms so as to include both classes, and the former was never acted upon by the Church. The Council of Chalcedon (c. xv.) and the Council *in Trullo* (c. xiv.) record the fact that the age of ordination for the deaconess was forty; and to this the civil law ultimately gave way (compare *Cod. Just.* I. iii. 9 and *Nov.* vi. 6 with *Nov.* cxxiii. 13, and on the whole subject see Ludlow, § 7, or Ziegler, pp. 355-356. (*b*) The twenty-first canon of the Council of Epâon forbids the "viduarum consecrationem quas diaconas vocitant." But a reference to the title of the canon, "de viduis in diaconas non consecrandis," makes it clear that there is here no such confusion (Bruns, ii. 170).

When this confusion is done away with, the early history of the office becomes clear.

1. In the West, as we have said, not only is there no evidence for the existence of the deaconess during the first four centuries, but all the evidence points clearly in the opposite direction. The absence of any reference to the office in the very full disciplinary manual known as the *Canons of Hippolytus*[1] would of itself be enough to prove that it did not exist at the time, and in the place, of their compilation: that is (it seems certain) at the opening of the third century, and at Rome.[2] The same inference may be drawn not less conclusively from their absence throughout St. Cyprian's letters,[3] and in the famous list of the offices of the Church given by the Roman bishop Cornelius in his letter to Fabius of Antioch[4] (A.D. 250). And again, the Western writers who refer to the deaconess, in commenting on Rom. xvi. 1 and 1 Tim. iii. 11, make it clear that the office was unknown in the West in their day, although known to exist in the East and amongst some heretical bodies. Such are pseudo-Jerome[5] (Pelagius?) and Ambrosiaster[6] (Hilary of Rome). From evidence such as this it seems perfectly clear that there were no deaconesses in the West down to the end of the fourth century.

2. The evidence with regard to Egypt is scantier, but so far as it goes it points clearly in the same direction. Clement and Origen[7] both recognise that deaconesses (*διακόνων γυναικῶν*) were set in the ministry of the Church in St. Paul's day; but they do not suggest that the office had survived, still less that it existed in Egypt; and when they speak elsewhere of the ministry in their own day, the deaconess is not mentioned.[8] But we possess further evidence with regard to Egypt in a disciplinary manual which is extant in two distinct stages of its

[1] [The whole subject of these early Church Orders needs to be reconsidered in the light of recent discoveries and investigations: see the revised Appendix (IV.) of the Dean of Wells].

[2] Such is the view of Achelis, Duchesne, Batiffol, and Robinson.

[3] Note especially St. Cypr., *Epp.* xxiii., xxix., xliii.

[4] Eus., *H. E.*, V. xliii. 11. "One bishop . . . forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acolytes, fifty-two exorcists, readers, and doorkeepers, and over fifteen hundred widows and recipients of alms." He is evidently describing the Roman Church of his own day.

[5] *In Rom.* xvi. 1 (Migne, *P. L.*, xxx. 714); *In 1 Tim.* iii. 11 *ibid.*, 922).

[6] *In 1 Tim.* iii. 11 (Migne, *P. L.*, xvii. 469 *f.*). In her index Miss Robinson describes this Hilary as *Bishop* of Rome.

[7] Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, iii. 6; Orig., *In Ep. ad Rom.*, lib. x., § 17.

[8] Clem. Alex., *Pæd.*, iii. 6; Orig., *Hom. vi. in Isaiam, Hom. xvii. in Lucam.*

growth. These are the so-called *Apostolic Church Order*[1] (in Greek, *The Constitutions by the hand of Clement and the Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles*), and what is commonly known as the Egyptian *Ecclesiastical Canons*.[2] The former, extant in Greek and Syriac, is probably of the early third century; but Harnack has shown that it embodies two earlier fragments of Church law, dating from A.D. 140-180,[3] and appearing from internal evidence to emanate from Egypt.[4] The latter, consisting of seven books of canons, is extant in the Thebaic and Memphitic dialects, but is from a Greek original, which certainly emanated from the Church of Alexandria.[5] It embodies the greater part of the former in its first book; its second shows clear signs of being based upon the *Canones Hippolyti*;[6] whilst the remaining books are apparently but little later, perhaps of the latter part of the third century.

Now, it is noteworthy that whilst both the earlier and the later form contain references to women's work, in the former the deaconess is unknown, whilst she appears fully in the latter. (*a*) The *Apostolic Church Order* has two distinct passages, one from each of the fragments of Church law upon which, according to Harnack, it is based. In the former[7] the reference is simply to the widows; whilst the second passage, a very extraordinary one, represents a consultation as taking place amongst the Apostles, the result of which is a distinct rejection of any ministration of women, excepting a purely eleemosynary one to their sisters in need.[8] This can only denote a distinct rejection of the claim of

[1] Printed by Bickell, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts* (1843); Lagarde *Reliquiæ Juris Ecclesiastici* (1858); Hilgenfeld, *Novum Testamentum extra Canonem Receptum* (1863); and Harnack, *Texte u. Unters.* II., i. 2; see Professor Robinson's Appendix, p. 191.

[2] Printed by Dr. Tattam in a late Memphitic version, with a translation, in *Apostolic Constitutions in Coptic* (1848), and more correctly, in the Thebaic, by Lagarde in his *Ægyptiaca*.

[3] *Texte u. Unters.*, ii. 5, p. 55. It may turn out that these fragments are part of the so-called *Testamentum Jesu Christi*, which is just being prepared for publication by Mgr. Rahmani, the Uniat Patriarch of Antioch for the Syrians (*Tablet*, December 3, 1898, p. 893).

[4] See Harnack's notes, *passim*. Dr. Salmon (*Introduction*, p. 552, ed. 1891) calls it "the foundation of Egyptian Ecclesiastical Law."

[5] Mason, *Relation of Confirmation to Baptism*, p. 251.

[6] As the eighth book of the [late fourth century] *Apostolical Constitutions* in turn depends upon it. See Achelis in *Texte u. Unters.*, vi. 4.

[7] "Three widows shall be appointed, two to persevere in prayer . . . and for revelations concerning anything that may be wanting, but one to assist the women visited with sickness"; Hilgenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 103, *Texte u. Unters.*, ii. 5, pp. 22 *f.* The parallel passage in the *Ecclesiastical Canons* is given in Tattam, pp. 23 *f.*; Lagarde, *Ægyptiaca*, p. 246.

[8] Andrew is represented as beginning: "It is [*or* Is it] profitable to appoint a ministry (διακονίαν) for the women"; John points out that the Lord "suffered not the women to stand with us" (συστῆναι ἡμῖν—*i.e.*, to

women to a share in the ministry of the Church; but even so, as Professor Robinson points out, "it shows that a female diaconate was known in some Churches, though it was rejected by the author of this book." (*b*) But when we turn to the later Egyptian *Ecclesiastical Canons*, the case is different. The first book, as we have said, is based upon the *Apostolic Church Order;* and the two passages that we have just noticed are reproduced in substance.[1] The second book, corresponding to the *Canones Hippolyti*, has no reference to the deaconess, although there are many to the widows and virgins.[2] The third book contains no reference to the ministry of women;[3] but after this the references are fairly frequent, though care is taken to make it clear that the deaconess does not rank with the higher clergy.[4]

It may be said that such disciplinary manuals are of little value. But they presuppose a Church life to which they apply; and taking them in connection with the evidence from Origen and Clement, we conclude unhesitatingly that there was a time when the office of deaconess was non-existent in Lower Egypt; and that it was introduced in the latter part of the third century, care being taken to avoid any confusion with the higher orders of the ministry.

3. We now turn to the fuller evidence of the East. There is no reason to doubt that the two maidservants called *ministræ*, whom Pliny[5] tortured in order to extract information as to the life of the Christian society in Bithynia, held this office. It is not a little remarkable that neither Ignatius nor Polycarp

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stand at the Altar: Harnack, *T. u. U.*, ii. 5, p. 28); and James ends the discussion: "How then, concerning women, can we appoint ministrations (διακονίας) save a ministration (διακονίαν) that they should render to women who are in need?" For the whole of this passage see Lagarde, *Reliquiæ*, p. 79; Hilgenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 104; and Professor Robinson's Appendix, pp. 192-193.

[1] See cc. 21, 24-28: Lagarde, *Ægyptiaca*, pp. 247, 248; Tattam, p. 27. It is, however, worth noticing that in the (modern) Memphitic version given by Tattam an ambiguity has been introduced: instead of "*except* a ministration," etc., it reads "as well as a ministration," and the passage may be taken to mean that there *is* a diaconate of women.

[2] Canons 37, 38, 47, 52.

[3] Excepting, indeed, a reminder that some women had the gift of prophecy in the Old Testament; and "if there be a man or woman who has received these great gifts, let him humble himself," etc., c. 63.

[4] For example, c. 66 (c. 67, Tattam), a deaconess is not to be ordained; c. 72 (73), she is not to bless, or to do any of the things that the presbyters or deacons do, but to keep the doors, and she may be put out [suspended ?] by the deacon, but not by the sub-deacon; c. 74 (75), the remains of the offerings at the Eucharist are to be divided, one [tenth] part being given "to the sub-deacons and readers and singers and deaconesses."

[5] *Ep.* xcvi.

mentions the office;[1] but there is no such evidence *against* its existence as we have found elsewhere. And when we hear of the deaconess again, it is not in such a way as to imply that she had ever ceased to exist. She stands in the same general relation to the widow, and to the Church at large, as she had done at the first. This being so, we are justified in thinking that the office which existed early in the second century is that which we find in full operation in the middle of the third century. For there can be no question that it is so found in the East from that time forward, both in disciplinary manuals and in the records of actual life. As regards the former, we have the *Apostolic Didascalia* of the middle of the third century,[2] and the *Apostolic Constitutions* of the end of the fourth. The *Constitutions* consist of eight books, six of which contain the *Didascalia* with alterations, whilst the seventh is based upon the *Didaché*, and the eighth, as we have said, upon the second book of the Egyptian *Ecclesiastical Canons*.

The evidence which is given by these two manuals (the *Didascalia* and the *Apostolic Constitutions*) has been so clearly set forth by Professor Robinson in his Appendix to Miss Robinson's book that we need do no more than summarise it here. In the *Didascalia* there is the following extraordinary passage, evidently based upon St. Ignatius:[3]

"The Bishop shall sit for you in the place of Almighty God. And the Deacon shall stand in the place of Christ: and ye shall love him. And the Deaconess shall be honoured by you in the place of the Holy Spirit.[4] And the Presbyter shall be to you as a type of the Apostles. And the Orphans and Widows shall be counted unto you as a type of the Altar."

Elsewhere the work of the deaconess is set forth: she is to minister to the sick and to visit in their homes those women whom the deacon cannot "because of the heathen"; she is to instruct catechumens and neophytes, and, above all, "when women go down into the water, it is required that by a deaconess

[1] If the *ministræ* of Pliny's letters are deaconesses, the silence of Ignatius cannot mean that they did not exist. And it is possible, at least, that he includes them with the men-deacons under the title διακόνος, like St. Chrysostom, who can hardly be accused of being unaware of the existence of women-deacons. (*Hom. xxx. in* 1 *Cor.*: "For as bishops and presbyters and deacons and virgins and continent persons enter into my enumeration . . . so also do the widows.")

[2] Extant in Syriac and Latin versions. The former was published anonymously, by Lagarde, in 1854; an edition of the latter is being prepared by Hauler.

[3] St. Ign., *Magn.* 6, *Smyrn.* 8, *Trall.* 3.

[4] In the *Apostolic Constitutions* there is added to this passage: "as neither doth the Paraclete do or speak ought of Himself, but glorifying Christ waiteth upon His Will." On which Petavius remarks, "Quæ sunt γραώδη et hæresim præterea τῶν πνευματομάχων redolent" (Oehler, *Corpus Hær.* iii., p. cccviii).

those who go down into the water should be anointed with the oil of anointing," though it is provided that the deaconess should neither perform the actual baptism nor administer the subsequent anointing of the head.

When we turn to the *Apostolic Constitutions*, we find these passages reproduced with some alterations and certain others added. The work of the deaconess remains much the same:[1] instruction, visiting, administering to the women, especially in the administration of baptism. This last, which may be called her characteristic function, is of special interest, since in it, as Odelem has observed, she was succeeding to a function such as had been performed by women in the baptising of a proselyte to Judaism.[2] But although her functions are the same, a change has come over her whole position. In Professor Robinson's words, "we feel instinctively that the deaconess has dropped. She is, indeed, first among the women of the Church, but Readers and Singers and Doorkeepers have got in front of her. . . . The Deacon is the servant of the Bishop; the Deaconess is the servant of the Deacon."[3]

In fact, the deaconess has come to occupy a position somewhat similar to that which we have seen her occupying in the

[1] With the addition of the keeping of the gates of the women: *Apost. Const.*, viii. 27. It is worth noticing that the same function is implied in a passage of one of the false Ignatius letters, written at the same time, if not by the same hand, as the *Apostolical Constitutions* (Lightfoot, *Ignat.*, iii. 240-242): Ἀσπάζομαι τὰς φρουρὰς τῶν ἁγίων πυλώνων, τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ διακόνους. Ps.-Ign., *Ad Antioch.*, 12. At a later date the Eastern deaconess also had charge of the vestments (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, tom. iii., pars ii., p. 848). And a canon of Jacob of Edessa in the Jacobite Pontifical allows the deaconess to cleanse the sanctuary and light the lamps in the absence of the higher clergy, to take the Eucharist from the receptacle in the Sanctuary and deliver it to women and infants, and even to administer the Chalice [in the congregation ?] in case of need. With the permission of the bishop she might mix the Chalice, but might not place a fragment of the Bread in the Chalice as the deacon did (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, III., ii. 849, and especially *Dissertatio de Monophysitis*, § 10. This latter is printed at the beginning of the second volume of the *Bibl. Orient.*, and is unpaged). The Apocryphal *Testament of the Lord*, of a much earlier date, directs that the deaconess shall carry the Eucharist to a woman who is sick and cannot come to church (Robinson, p. 194).

[2] Odelem, § ix. (it is not paged), from *Rambam*, cap. xiv. (*Rambam* is of course Maimonides, and the passage is in the *Mishneh Torah* Hilchoth Issure Bia, cap. xiv., §§ 6, 7.) He gives the following translation of the passage: "Postea baptizant eum, et tres consistunt superiori loco, et notificant ipsi quædam gravia, quædam item levia præcepta, vice secunda, et ipse consistet in aqua; quod si femina fuit, mulieres aliæ eam in aqua collocant usque ad collum suum, judicibus foris consistentibus, qui ipsi nota faciunt quædam gravia leviaque præcepta, atque ipsa sedet in aqua. Postea immergit se coram ipsis; ipsi vero judices avertunt faciem suam et egrediuntur, ne feminam videant ascendentem ex aqua." See also the story told by John Moschus of Conon, the monk of Pentoucla (Robinson, p. 87).

[3] *The Ministry of Deaconesses*, p. 175.

Egyptian *Ecclesiastical Canons*, with, however, one important exception: she has received an ordination properly so called;[1] she is still a part of the clergy, though an inferior part; in the language of a later day, she is *in minor* orders. But it may be doubted how far this decline in her status prevailed in the East; for the later forms for the ordination of deaconesses are in many ways parallel to those for deacons,[2] and the laws of Justinian make it clear that at Constantinople she was regarded as being on a level with them.[3] In the great church of St. Sophia, we are told, there were not to be more than one hundred male and forty female deacons.[4]

And although the number was probably less at an earlier period, it is clear that they were at work everywhere in the East. The Council of Nicæa recognises the office as a matter of course,[5] and we have seen that later Eastern Councils do so too. Epiphanius bears witness to it, and distinguishes it from other offices which are unknown to the Church.[6] Some five deaconesses at Constantinople are familiar to us in connection with St. Chrysostom;[7] St. Gregory of Nyssa tells us of another;[8] and

[1] See the form in Robinson, p. 188. Van Espen (*Jus Eccl. Univ.*), Hefele, and Maskell (*Monumenta*, vol. ii., p. cvii, ed. 1882), amongst others, have tried to show that the laying on of hands in their case was of the nature of a benediction, and not of an ordination. But there can be no question that they were really ordained. The words χειροτονία, χειροθεσία, and *ordinatio* are used of them in precisely the same way as of deacons, etc., whilst they are not so used of the widows and virgins: *e.g.*, in the fourteenth canon of the Council *in Trullo* the deaconesses are to be ordained (χειροτονεῖσθαι) and the widows to be enrolled (καταλέγεσθαι). See Thomassin (*in loc.*), Morinus, *De Sacr. Ord.*, pars iii., exerc. x., cap. i., p. 143 (ed. Antuerpiæ, 1695), Pankowski, cap. iv., § 28, and Robinson, pp. 70-72, 187-190.

[2] They are collected by Miss Robinson in her Appendix B. The Latin rite given on p. 203 after Muratori had been previously published in the *Bibl. Vet. Patr.*, tom. viii., p. 471 (Coloniæ Agrippinæ, 1618). Scipio Maffei found a form "ad diaconam faciendam" in a manuscript in the Library of Verona, but did not publish it: *Osservazioni sulle Complessioni di Cassiodoro* (*Opere*, tom. x., p. 223, ed. Venezia, 1790).

[3] See Ludlow, § 7, pp. 51 *f.*

[4] *Nov.* iii. 1 (Migne, *P. L.*, lxxii. 924): "Sancimus ne quando in sacrosancta majore ecclesia ultra lx presbyteros, diaconos vero mares centum, feminas xl, et subdiaconas xc, lectores autem ultra cx, cantores ultra xxv existent, ut universus reverendissimorum clericorum majorum numerus in ccccxxv personis, et centum præterea ostiariis (ut vocant) consistat." Miss Robinson gives some facts in the later history of the deaconesses at Constantinople (*Ministry of Deaconesses*, p. 91).

[5] Canon xix. See Dr. Bright's note.

[6] Epiph., *Hær.*, 79, 4; *Expositio Fidei*, 21; and a letter amongst those of St. Jerome (No. 51).

[7] Olympias (ordained by Nectarius, Soz., *H. E.*, viii. 9), Sabiniana (who followed St. Chrysostom to Cucusus, *Ep.* xliii.), Pentadia (*Ep.* xciv.), Amprucla (*Ep.* ciii.), and, unless she is the same person, Procla, mentioned in the *Life* by Palladius.

[8] Lampadia, mentioned in his *Life of Macrina.*

St. Basil writes to three sisters who held the office at Samosata.[1] Miss Robinson has given the names of some twenty others,[2] and to these may be added three more: (*a*) Dionysia, the mother of St. Euthymius the Great, who was ordained deaconess by Otreius, Bishop of Melitina in Upper Armenia, at the same time that her son was made a reader;[3] (*b*) Manaris, a deaconess at Gaza in the early fifth century;[4] and (*c*) Irene, a deaconess at Constantinople who was ordained by St. Methodius in the earlier half of the ninth century.[5]

But many, perhaps most, of the later Eastern deaconesses had come to occupy a position differing not a little from that of early days, and one which had not a little to do with their final disappearance. They had gradually become "ruling women," thus, it may be, displacing the *presbytides*.[6] The

Ep. cv. A passage in another letter which has often been referred to in this connection—*e.g.*, by Ziegler (p. 359) and Dr. Bright (see Howson, *Diaconate of Women*, p. 66)—has really nothing whatever to do with deaconesses. It is in the *Epistola Canonica II.* (*Ep.* cxcix.), No. 24: "A widow whose name is in the list of widows, that is, *who is being ministered to by the Church* (τὴν διακονουμένην ὑπο τῆς ἐκκλησίας), is directed by the Apostle to be supported no longer if she marries." The words in italics have been taken to mean *who is received into the order of deaconesses*; but it is quite clear that they mean nothing of the kind.

[2] The real name of the Constantinopolitan deaconess whom Miss Robinson calls Regina, after Baronius (*Ann. Eccl.*, 515 A.D.), is Basilina, and it is so given in the *Life of St. John the Silentiary* (*Acta SS.*, May 13, vol. iii., pp. 237 *f.*).

[3] See the *Life of St. Euthymius the Great* (*A. SS.* Boll., vol. ii., January 20, pp. 302 *f.*): "in gradus lectorum eum cooptat, atque matrem quidem Dionysiam . . . diaconissam ordinat suæ ecclesiæ." This must have been in the latter part of the fourth century, as Otreius was present at the Council of Constantinople in 381.

[4] See the *Life of St. Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza* (*A. SS.* Boll., vol. iii., February 16, p. 660).

[5] See the *Life of St. Irene* (*A. SS.* Boll., vol. vi., July 28, p. 601).

[6] The following passages may be noticed with regard to the πρεσβύτιδες or "elder widows": (1) Titus ii. 3, they are to be ἐν καταστήματι ἱεροπρεπεῖς (or, as Archbishop Benson used to translate it, "having the majesty of priestesses"), which distinctly suggests a position of authority. (2) In the Apocryphal *Acts and Martyrdom of Matthew* the king Fulvanus is appointed presbyter, his son deacon, his wife *presbytis*, and his son's wife deaconess; so that the *presbytis* has evidently "a more dignified position than that of deaconess" (Robinson, pp. 195 *f.*; the Acts are printed by Tischendorf, *Apocryphal Acts of Apostles*, pp. 166 *f.*). (3) A later recension of this document makes the king's wife a deaconess only (*ibid.*). (4) The Council of Laodicæa (canon xi.) forbids the appointment of πρεσβύτιδες or προκαθήμεναι in the Church (or, as Dionysius Exiguus renders it, "eas quæ dicuntur viduæ seniores vel præsidentes"); and Epiphanius, whilst bearing witness to the continued use of the name to denote the older widows in the Church, is careful to distinguish them from πρεσβυτερίδας or ἱερίσσας (*Hær.*, 79, 3; *cf.* Ps.-Ath., *De Virginitate*, § 11, where the name is given by way of honour to the elder virgins). We may infer that this careful distinction had become necessary in view of the fact that outside the Church sacerdotal functions were not withheld from women. (5) But

process was a very natural one, and had begun very early. The deaconess, for instance, might become head of the society of virgins,[1] or, indeed, abbess of a convent,[2] without thereby being withdrawn from that which was her primary work in and for the Church; and from the fourth century onwards we find her occupying both these positions, and especially the latter. But the connection came to be far closer than this. We cannot, indeed, be sure that the time ever came in the East when all abbesses were deaconesses,[3] or conversely when all deaconesses were abbesses;[4] but certainly, as time went on, the state of things was not far from this, and the word *deaconess* came to be used as a synonym for abbess.[3] It is so used in a canon[5] of Rabulas (or Rabbulas), Bishop of Edessa from 412 to 435 (or 436);[6] in the *Life of St. Eupraxia* (or Euphrasia),[7] which, in spite of some legendary setting, is in the main historical; and in the citation

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neither the title nor the functions connected with it died out at once. Pope Gregory the Great (*Epist.*, lib. ix., ind. 2, ep. vii., ed. Bened.) mentions the abbess of a convent in Sardinia who refused "usque ad diem obitus indui se monachica veste" and continued "in vestibus quibus loci illius utantur presbyteræ," and who said "hoc pene ex consuetudine licuisse"; and Atto of Vercelli is aware that such an office had formerly existed, although he knows little or nothing about it: *Epist. ad Ambr.* (Migne, *P. L.*, cxxxiv., quoted by Miss Robinson, p. 94). (6) An *Ordo Romanus* given by Mabillon (*Museum Italicum*, ii. 91; *Ordo Romanus ix.*; Migne. *P. L.*, lxxviii. 1005), which he dates from about the time of Pope Leo III. (*Mus. It.*, ii. 39 *n.*), mentions "feminæ diaconissæ et presbyterissæ quæ eodem die benedicuntur" as amongst those who took part in the procession at the coronation of an emperor. Pinius discreetly prints the passage "diaconissæ . . . quæ eodem die," etc., thus avoiding the consideration of a difficult question. There is a German work, *De Presbyterissis veteris Ecclesiæ Commentariolus*, by Matt. Zimmerman (Annæbergæ, 1681); but it is not particularly luminous.

[1] As were Olympias, Publia, and Lampadia. We are told also that, owing to her retiring disposition, Nicarete refused to be a deaconess, or to preside over the virgins (Soz., *H. E.*, viii. 14).

[2] As were the deaconesses Jannia, Valeriana, Irene, and, apparently, Anastasia.

[3] After *deaconess* had become a common name for an abbess, the Syriac *amma* continues to be used in some cases, the inference being that those who are so described are not deaconesses.

[4] As Miss Robinson says, the beautiful inscription to the deaconess Aeria, "deaconess of the Saints, the friend of all," would seem to indicate that she was an active "servant of the Church" (*op. cit.*, p. 92).

[5] "Monachi sine presbytero, et moniales sine diaconissa, ne pergant ad synaxes" (Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, ii. 959; Migne, *P. G.*, lxxvii. 1473 *f.*). Assemani gives the canon with the addition (probably a gloss), "ut enim presbyter monachis, ita et diaconissa monialibus præest in divinis officiis" (*Dissertatio de Monophysitis*, § 10; *Bibl. Orient.*, vol. ii.).

[6] He died in 435 (*Dict. Chr. Biog.*) or 436 (Le Quien).

[7] *Vita Sanctæ Euphrasiæ* [*Eupraxiæ*] *auctore incerto*, given in Greek in *Acta SS.* Boll., March 13, vol. ii., pp. 727*f.*, in Latin, pp. 265*f.*, and Migne, *P. G.*, lxxiii. 623 *f.* Throughout the *Life* ἡ διάκονος is used for the abbess of the convent of Thebes, to which Euphrasia retired.

of this *Life* by St. John of Damascus.[1] And other instances might easily be given from later Greek writers.[2]

And thus the gradual decay of the office in the East was assured. Deaconesses were no longer needed for the exercise of the most distinctive function of their office—the anointing in Holy Baptism—partly because the anointing of the whole body had been dropped in most parts of the East, partly because adult baptisms had become so rare as not to require any regular provision.[3] Accordingly the ordination of deaconesses gradually ceased, not owing to any express enactment but simply because there was no longer any distinctive meaning in the office.[4] Balsamon, Patriarch of Antioch in the eleventh century, knows of the continued existence of deaconesses at Constantinople, but says that none were ordained in his own Church, "although certain nuns (ἀσκητρίαι) are called deaconesses by a misuse of terms."[5] Matthew Blastares, writing in the fourteenth century, does not even know what the office of deaconess was, but has a vague idea that it had something to do with the baptism of women.[6] And although the name still survived in Eastern service-books, as anything else does which has never been expressly removed, it would appear that the office has practically ceased in the East from the thirteenth century.

We now turn to the West, where, as has been said, there are no signs that the office had ever existed down to the end of the fourth century. After this period we find our first mention of

[1] St. Joh. Damasc., *Orat. iii. pro Sacris Imaginibus*: Migne, *P. G.*, xciv. 1417.

[2] The present writer has found abbesses described as *archidiaconissæ* in the East, but cannot lay hands on the reference.

[3] The most interesting statement of the subject is that of Michael, the Jacobite Patriarch, *c.* 1190 (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, ii. 154), who inserted in the Jacobite Pontifical a canon to the effect that deaconesses were no longer ordained, because people were baptised in infancy, but that they might still be ordained in case of urgent necessity (Dissert. *De Monoph.*, § 10).

[4] This gradual loss of *distinctiveness* may be illustrated (*a*) by the comment of Primasius on Rom. xvi. 1: "Quomodo diacones sunt, sive in ministerio verbi: nam et feminæ tunc in suo sexu docebant, sicut legimus de Priscilla" (Migne, *P. L.*, lxviii. 505; Primasius was Bishop of Adrumetus or Justinianopolis, *c.* 550); (*b*) by the forty-eighth canon of the Council *in Trullo*, which directed that the wife of a priest elevated to the episcopate might, if worthy, be made a deaconess (Bruns, i. 52).

[5] *In Can. xv. Chalc.* The custom mentioned by Bar-Hebræus (sæc. xiii.) that in the neighbourhood of Antioch the abbess was a deaconess, and administered the Eucharist to her nuns in the absence of a priest, must probably be such a titular use of the word as Balsamon speaks of And the statement of H. A. Daniell (*Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiæ Universæ*, iv. 698) that amongst the Maronites the abbess receives the benediction and the privileges of a deaconess may refer to a like usage.

[6] Quoted by Miss Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

deaconesses in the canons of Councils forbidding their ordination: and the circumstances are such as to indicate that the office was of recent introduction from the East.

The starting-point is a Synod at Nîmes, the Acts of which are genuine but little known, not being published in any collection.[1] It was held in 394, five years after the edict of Theodosius had banished the Manichees from the East. The result was a great influx of Manichees (and others) into Gaul, and it is with them[2] that the Synod is dealing. The first canon says that many of these "de ultimis Orientis partibus venientes" have presbyters and clergy who are not ordained, and who, of course, must not be received as such.[3] The second goes on to say that it appears that they have also women who hold the levitical office, and the bishops in Synod exhaust the capacities of language in declaring their detestation of such a novel outrage, repudiate the ordinations, and say that nothing of the kind is to be done in future.[4]

Whatever we may think of this Gallican view of the ministry of women, at least it is clear that these Gallican bishops knew nothing whatever of such a ministry. But they cannot long have remained in ignorance. It was the period of that great intercourse between the East and Gaul which, thanks to the Abbé Duchesne and others, we are every day getting to realise more clearly. The bishops must presently have learned that the office was well enough known in the East; and before long the practice of ordaining deaconesses had crept into Gaul.

We know this from the frequent canons of Councils during the next century forbidding such ordinations, but implying that they had taken place.[5] The first Council of Orange, in 441, declared that deaconesses were on no account to be ordained,

[1] They were first printed by Iñigo Rodriguez at Cologne in 1743; then, from a manuscript of the sixth century, by Dr. Kunst in 1839; and again by Hefele (*History of Councils*, Eng. tr., ii. 402 *f.*).

[2] That is, with Eastern immigrants as a whole, rather than with any particular body of Manichees.

[3] Hefele, *ubi supra*.

[4] *Ibid.*: "Illud ætiam a quibusdam suggestum est, ut contra apostolicam disciplinam, incognito usque in hoc tempus in ministerium nescio quo loco levviticum videantur adsumptæ: quod quidem, quia indecens est, non admittit ecclesiastica disciplina; et contra rationem facta talis ordinatio distruatur [*lege* destruatur]: providendum, ne quis sibi hoc ultra præsumat."

[5] It is only necessary to glance at the view which has been widely held (*e.g.*, by Ziegler, *op. cit.*, c. xix., and Dr. Bright, *Notes on the Canons*, Nicæa xix.) that these Gallican canons forbade the *ordaining* of deaconesses whilst allowing an already existing non-ordained diaconate of women to continue. Such a view is inconsistent both with the earlier history of the office in the West and with the subsequent facts in Gaul itself, and is rightly rejected by Miss Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 *f.*

and that "if there were any already" they were to rank with the laity;[1] whilst by another canon it laid greater stress upon the setting apart of widows.[2] The Council of Epâon (517) again forbade the consecration of widows into deaconesses;[3] and the second Council of Orleans (533), whilst recognising the deaconesses already existing, determines that none are henceforward to be set apart, "by reason of the frailty of their sex."[4] This, however, is the last of such enactments. It is possible that in the twelfth of the *Statuta Antiqua Ecclesiæ*, a code compiled in the South of Gaul, and probably in the early part of the sixth century, we have an actual recognition of the office, although the name is not mentioned.[5] But at any rate, eleven years after the second Council of Orleans, its decree was expressly disregarded;[6] and after this deaconesses are several times referred to, although their number in Gaul can never have been very large. So far as we are aware, the names of only two individual Gallican deaconesses have survived, both of whom are mentioned by Miss Robinson. They are Hilaria, the daughter of St. Remigius,[7] Bishop of Reims; and St. Rhadegund,[8] the wife of King Clothaire I. We have, indeed, other evidence, in Gaul or in Germany, of the existence of the office,[9] and also not a little

[1] Canon xxvi.: "Diaconissæ omnismodis non ordinandæ: si quæ jam sunt, benedictioni quæ populo impenditur capita submittant."

[2] Canon xxvii.: they are to make a profession and wear a special dress.

[3] Canon xxi.

[4] Canons xvii., xviii.: it would appear that many of them had married.

[5] "Viduæ vel sanctimoniales quæ ad ministerium baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur, instructæ sint ad officium, ut possint aperto et sano sermone docere imperitas et rusticas mulieres tempore quo baptizandæ sunt, qualiter baptizatori ad interrogata respondeant, et qualiter accepto baptizmate vivant." This may imply that certain virgins and widows were set apart in a new office, that of the deaconess, to which there is a veiled reference in the naming of this characteristic function; and, on the other hand, it may mean that certain of the virgins and widows were allowed to exercise this function, which naturally belonged to the deaconess.

[6] In the case of St. Rhadegund.

[7] He died in 530, and by his will leaves a female slave to his "blessed daughter, the deaconess Hilaria" (Migne, *P. L.*, lxv. 973).

[8] The case is rather curious: see Robinson, pp. 61 *f.* According to the *Life of St. Rhadegund* by her friend Venantius Fortunatus (*Acta SS.* Boll., August 13), she fled from the Court in 544, and besought Bishop Medard of Noyon to consecrate her to the Lord. He at first demurred, but at length *manu superposita consecravit eam diaconam*. She appears never to have exercised her office, and ultimately became a nun in the monastery at Poitiers, which she had herself founded.

[9] See the third collection of canons appended to the Frankish *Capitularium: Capit. Add.*, iii. 78 (Baluz., i. 1171): "Si diaconissa nupserit, gladio ultoris sternatur, et facultas eius ecclesiæ ubi servivit addicatur," etc. This is based on *Nov.* vi. 6; but it obviously applies to an existing state of things. The first four books of the *Capitularium* were compiled by the abbot Ansegis about A.D. 827, and the last three by the deacon Benedict about 846; the *Additio Tertia* is probably a little later.

which shows that other women had intruded into sacred things to a remarkable degree.[1] It points to the existence of something altogether anomalous in the position of women in the extreme West, which perhaps may have been a survival from paganism.

We turn now to Italy, whither in all probability the deaconess came from Gaul. For here, as elsewhere, the evidence points to the Eastern influence having reached Northern Italy by way of Gaul, and not directly. The earliest sign of her existence is the interesting epitaph at Pavia of "Theodora, the deaconess of blessed memory," who died in 539.[2] There is, indeed, one deaconess of somewhat earlier date (*c.* 450), whose place of abode has been held to be doubtful. This is the learned Syncletica, whose brother Eustathius dedicated to her his Latin version of the *Hexæmeron* of St. Basil.[3] She is also mentioned in the first two dedicatory letters prefixed by the poet Sedulius to his *Carmen Paschale*, and addressed to the abbot Macedonius.[4] From this we learn that Sedulius was living in close religious fellowship, probably in a monastery, with Macedonius and others, including Syncletica, *sacra virgo et ministra*, at the time that he wrote his poem. And this fact assures us beyond reasonable doubt that she abode in Achaia,[5] and not farther westward.

The later Latin commentators are much given to copying the statements of earlier writers, irrespectively of the facts of their own day. But it may be mentioned that in commenting upon Rom. xvi. 1, Sedulius Scotus, probably a monk of St. Gall about 820, speaks of deaconesses as existing in the East (Migne, *P. L.*, ciii., 123); Rabanus Maurus (*ibid.*, cxi. 1605) notes the fact that the office has Apostolical authority; Haymo of Halberstadt (*ibid.*, cxvii. 503) says not a word of the office of deaconess, and merely regards Phœbe as having helped the Apostle; whilst St. Bruno the Carthusian (*ibid.*, cliii. 120), Herveus of Bordeaux (*ibid.*, clxxxi. 806), and Peter Lombard (*ibid.*, cxci. 1527), are equally barren.

[1] See (*a*) second Council of Braga, A.D. 573, c. xlii.: "Non liceat mulieres in secretarium [*al.* sacrarium] ingredi." (*b*) *Capit. Aquisgr.*, A.D. 789, c. lxxiv. (Baluz., i. 238): "Auditum est aliquas abbatissas contra morem sanctæ Dei, ecclesiæ, benedictiones cum manus impositione et signaculo sanctæ crucis super capite virorum dare, necnon et velare virgines cum benedictione sacerdotali." This is, of course, forbidden. (*c*) Council of Paris, A.D. 829, c. xlv., forbids women to approach the altar or handle the sacred vessels. (*d*) Pseudo-Soter, *Ep.* ii.: consecrated women (*sacratas Deo feminas*) and nuns are forbidden to touch the holy vessels (Hinschius, *Decr. Ps.-Isid.*, p. 124). (*e*) Other cases are given by Hans Achelis in the article above referred to.

[2] Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.*, v. 571 *f.*: given by Miss Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[3] "Eustathius Syncleticæ germanæ diaconissæ salutem in Christo," etc. It was used by Cassiodorus (*Div. Lect.*, c. 1; *Opera*, p. 445, Geneva, 1650; and Migne, *P. L.*, lxx. 1110).

[4] *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.*, x. 9, and Migne, *P. L.*, xix., col. 542; *cf.* col. 443.

[5] According to the subscription of early MSS. of Sedulius, which is probably based upon a lost passage of Gennadius, Sedulius had lived as a layman in Italy, and afterwards became a monk and wrote his poems in Achaia. See Teuffel-Schwabe, *History of Roman Literature*, ed. Warr, ii. 498 *f.*, § 473; *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, iv. 598.

There is other evidence which indicates that there cannot have been deaconesses in Italy until about the time of Theodora —viz., a statement of Cassiodorus, which has not been noticed hitherto. The work in which it occurs, his *Commentary on Romans*, is not now extant; but his comment on Rom. xvi. 1 is quoted by Abailard, and is as follows:

"Significat diaconissam fuisse matris ecclesiæ, quod in partibus Græcorum hodie usque peragitur, quibus et baptizandi usus in ecclesia non negatur."[1]

This proves that Cassiodorus, writing in his *Monasterium Vivariense* near Squillace, at some time after 538,[2] knew nothing of the existence of deaconesses in the West. And although he may well have been ignorant of what was going on in Gaul, the acute and devout minister of Theodoric could not have remained in ignorance of such an institution in Italy, had it been of any considerable standing.

After Theodora there is a long gap in our evidence. The fact that no deaconess is mentioned throughout the letters of Gregory the Great shows that they can hardly have been common in his day, but would not justify the conclusion that there were none. On the other hand, the fact that Claudius of Turin (bishop 821-839) recognises the Apostolic origin of the office[3] does not prove that it existed in Italy in his day. The language of Atto, however, who was Bishop of Vercelli in the tenth century, is harder to understand. He recognises that there was once a ministry of women in the Church, but distinctly implies that it is a thing of the past:[4] and it is impossible not to hold, with Miss Robinson, that "Bishop Atto had never seen a Deaconess."

[1] *Sermo xxx. in Natali Sancti Stephani* (*Opera*, i. 555, ed. Cousin, Paris, 1849). Cassiodorus's commentary on the Romans was not part of his *Complexiones in Epist. Apostolorum*, which were discovered at Verona, and published by Scipio Maffei in 1721 (reprinted in Migne, *P. L.*, lxx. 1316 *f.*). But we know of its existence from his own statement (*De Orthographia*, præf. 3; *Opera*, p. 492, ed. Geneva, 1650; Migne, *P. L.*, lxx. 1240); and it was familiar reading to Hincmar of Reims (*De Prædestinatione Dissertatio Posterior*, c. 25 ult.; Migne, *P. L.*, cxxv. 268); so that there can be no reason for doubting the accuracy of Abailard's citation.

[2] Hodgkin, *Letters of Cassiodorus*, p. 51.

[3] His comment on Rom. xvi. 1 is quoted by Abailard as follows: "Hic locus apostolica auctoritate docet etiam feminas in ministerio Ecclesiæ institui." Only fragments of the commentary of Claudius on St. Paul's Epistles have been published (Migne, *P. L.*, ciii. 925 *f.*), and this comment is not amongst them. But the whole commentary exists in manuscript, and according to M. Cousin it contains this passage. See *Abælardi Opera*, i. 135, note 1 (ed. Cousin), and Fabricius, *Bibl. Lat. Med. Æv.*, *s.v.* Claudius Hispanus (i. 358, ed. Florentiæ, 1858).

[4] *In Rom.* xvi. 1: "Ostendit quia tunc non solum viri sed etiam feminæ præerant ecclesiis" (Migne, *P. L.*, cxxxiv. 281). See also his letter to Ambrosius, quoted by Miss Robinson, p. 94.

But although deaconesses were unknown in the neighbourhood of Vercelli in the tenth century, they were certainly not unknown elsewhere in Italy, then or afterwards. One such deaconess, Anna, the sister of Dometius, deacon and treasurer[1] of the Holy See, is known to us by a votive tablet which formerly stood in the porch of S. Paolo fuori le Mura at Rome. It is probably of the eighth century, and the inscription runs as follows:[2]

✠ DE DONIS DI ET BEATI APOSTOLI.
DOMETIVS DIAC . ET ARCARIVS SCÆ
SED . APOSTOL . ADQVE PP . VNA CVM
ANNA DIAC . EIVS GERMANA HOC
VOTVM BEATO PAVLO OPTVLERVT.

After this we come across not a few traces of deaconesses at Rome. They are mentioned twice over, quite incidentally, at the end of the eighth century: once in a Roman *Ordo*[3] of the time of Leo III., and again in the account of the triumphal return of that pontiff to the city in 799.[4] Then comes another gap in the evidence; but after this, in the early part of the eleventh century, quite a number of papal charters are extant which speak of the office. There is one from Benedict VIII. (1012-1024) to Benedict, Bishop of Portus;[5] another dated A.D. 1029, from John XIX. to the same bishop;[6] a third, dated by Mabillon A.D. 1026 or 1027, from John XIX. to the Bishop of Silva-Candida;[7] and a fourth, dated 1039 by Migne, from Benedict IX.

[1] For the office of Arcarius Romanæ Ecclesiæ (*or* sanctæ sedis) see Du Cange, *s.v.*, and the passages there referred to.

[2] R. Fabretti, *Inscriptionum Antiquarum Explicatio*, p. 758, No. 639 (Romæ, 1699).

[3] *Ordo Romanus ix.*; Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, ii. 91; or Migne, *P. L.*, lxxviii., col. 1005.

[4] In his *Life* by Anastasius the Librarian; Migne, *P. L.*, cxxviii. 1215 *f.*

[5] Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i. 116 *f.*, or Migne, *P. L.*, cxxxix. 1617: "Concedimus et confirmamus vobis vestrisque successoribus in perpetuum omnem ordinationem episcopalem, tam de presbyteris quam diaconibus vel diaconissis, seu subdiaconibus . . . quæ in tota Transtiberi necessaria fuerit, faciendam, nisi cardinalis presbyter vel cardinalis diaconus . . . efficiatur."

[6] Gaetano Marini, *Papiri diplomatichi*, i. 70 (Roma, 1805), or Migne, *P. L.*, cxli. 1115 *f.*: " . . . omnem ordinationem episcopalem, tam de presbyteris quam diaconibus vel diaconissis seu subdiaconibus, ecclesiis, vel altaribus," etc.

[7] Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, ii. 156; Ughelli, i. 93; Migne, *P. L.*, lxxviii. 1053 or cxli. 1125: "consecrationes ecclesiarum, altarium, sacerdotum, clericorum, diaconorum [diaconarum ?] seu diaconissarum totius civitatis Leonianæ . . . concedimus et confirmamus." Ughelli reads *diaconistarum*.

to the same bishop or his successor.[1] A similar grant of Leo IX. (1048-1054) is extant;[2] and there may easily be more.

Nor is this the only evidence of the existence of the office in Italy. In the *Life of St. Nilus Junior*,[3] a Greek, who was abbot of Grotta Ferrata, in the region of Tusculum, at the end of the tenth century,[4] it is recorded that on one occasion he paid a visit to Capua.[5] The whole city came out to meet him, and amongst them a deaconess, who was over a monastery there, with her chaplain.[6] And again, in 1721 there was discovered at Verona[7] the epitaph of a deaconess, Daciana by name. It is as follows:[8]

✠ DACIANA DIACONISSA
QVE . V . AN . XXXXV . M . III .
ET . FVIT . F . PALMATI . COS
ET . SOROR . VICTORINI . PRESBRI
ET . MVLTA . PROPHETAVIT
CVM FLACCA ALVMNA
V . A . XV . DEP . IN . PACE . III . ID . AVG

[1] Ughelli, i. 100; Migne, *P. L.*, cxli. 1347 *f.*: "Confirmamus, ut presbyteri, diaconi, monachi, mansionarii, clerici cuiuscumque ordinis sint, vel dignitatis, sanctimoniales seu diaconissæ omnes, immunes sint a laicali servitio . . . consecrationem ecclesiarum, altarium, sacerdotum, clericorum, seu diaconistarum [*sic*] totius civitatis Leonianæ . . . concedimus et confirmamus."

[2] St. Leonis IX., Papæ, *Ep.* vii.; Migne, *P. L.*, cxliii., cols. 602 *f.*: "confirmamus vobis vestrisque successoribus in perpetuum omnem ordinationem episcopalem, tam de presbyteris quam de diaconis, vel diaconistas [*sic*], sive subdiaconis."

[3] *Acta SS.* Boll., September 26, tom. vii., pp. 279 *f.*; Migne, *P. G.*, cxx. *init.*

[4] He died about 1005. A marble tablet with his epitaph in Greek still stood "juxta turrim ecclesiæ Cryptæ Ferratensis" when the Bollandists edited his *Life*.

[5] Baronius dates it 991 (*Ann. Eccl.*, xvi. 306 *f.*, ed. Lucæ, 1744).

[6] § 79: *μία διάκονος, ἡγουμένη μοναστηρίου, σὺν τῷ ἑαυτῇ πρεσβυτέρῳ νέῳ ὄντι καὶ σφριγῶντι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ.*

[7] Published in 1721 by Scipio Maffei (to whom the stone itself had been given by the well-known scholar Girolamo Baruffaldi the elder) in an editorial note on 1 Cor. xiv. 2 in the *Complexiones* of Cassiodorus (see Migne, *P. L.*, lxx. 1337), and subsequently, with further comments and slight variations, in his *Museum Veronense* (p. clxxix) and in the twentieth letter of his *Galliæ Antiquitates* (*Opere*, tom. xx., pp. 192, 204, 206). We have followed the text of the *Museum Veronense*. It is also given by Pinius in the dissertation above referred to, from the papers of Giuseppe Antenore Scalabrini of Ferrara; according to which it was found in the gardens near the church of St. Croce, where formerly was the church of St. Barnaba and a nunnery. Pinius reads PPETRAVIT for PROPHETAVIT; but Maffei cannot be wrong in his reading of an inscription which, as he said, "cum Veronæ sum, in conclavi ob oculos semper habeo," and he more than once calls special attention to *prophetavit*.

[8] There is a palm-branch at the beginning, and two at the end, of the inscription.

There is little here to enable us to determine the date,[1] but it seems probable that Daciana lived somewhat later than the deaconess at Capua.

But it will have been observed that there are signs of the same confusion in the West between the deaconess and the nun, and especially the abbess, which we have already noticed in the East. This is not the case with Anna; but the deaconess at Capua is an abbess, and the word διάκονος is used in her case much as it was in the East; and that Daciana was an abbess too is suggested not only by the site on which the inscription was found, but also by the description of Flacca as her *alumna*.[2] The charters of popes given above point to a similar conclusion; in some cases the deaconess is classed with the deacon and subdeacon, in others with the nuns. Evidently, as deaconesses became rarer, people became more and more vague as to what the office really meant; although it still survived, it had become a mere shadow of its former self.

How far this confusion had gone may be seen from the writings of the greatest scholar of the early twelfth century, the philosopher Abailard. In critical acumen he was equalled by none, probably also in actual range of knowledge. His passion for inquiry had already brought him into disgrace with the monks of St. Denis, when he demonstrated the falsity of the legend of their patron Dionysius the Areopagite. If any Western scholar was likely to know the facts about deaconesses, it was he. And, indeed, in his *Commentary on Romans* he declares definitely enough that Phœbe was a woman-deacon,[3] and quotes Origen, Pseudo-Jerome, Epiphanius, and the passages of Cassiodorus and Claudius of Turin which we have already noticed. In his sermon on the Nativity of St. Stephen, preached to the nuns of the house of the Paraclete, he recognises that women, who had been ministers (*diaconas*) of Christ, were likewise received into the order of deacons.[4] But when he comes to speak of his own

[1] Maffei at first thought that PALMATI might be a mistake for DALMATI, but afterwards came to the conclusion that Palmatus merely held the honorary consulship. Pinius points out that, according to the Roman Martyrology, a consul Palmatius was martyred in A.D. 222 with his family (see *A. SS.* Boll., May 10, p. 498), but doubts whether this can be he. The real explanation must be found in the fact that the consulate was an office in the mediæval city-state. The consuls of the Lombard cities date from the middle of the eleventh century; Palmatus must have held the office at Verona, but we have no data sufficient to enable us to trace him.

[2] Which would seem to mean that Flacca was one of her nuns.

[3] Abailard, *In Rom.* xvi. 1; Migne, *P. L.*, clxxviii. 971.

[4] The passage is interesting: "Perpendite et quanto vos honore divina gratia sublimaverit, qui vos primum suas et postmodum apostolorum habuit diaconas. . . . Unde et ipsas tam diaconas quam diaconissas antiquitus appellare doctores sancti consuevere. De quarum etiam

day, it is clear that he regards the abbess as the only existing representative of the order, and this *qua* abbess and not by virtue of any separate ordination. This appears from his letters. Heloissa had sought for information as to the origin of nuns. In the course of his lengthy reply he says that "those whom we now call abbesses were formerly called deaconesses."[1] In a second letter he lays down rules for the house of the Paraclete, and uniformly uses the word *deaconess* as corresponding exactly with abbess.[2]

We cannot build too much upon Abailard's language, for he was of that rather fantastic temperament which rejoices in singularity. We may be sure that he knew nothing of any other deaconesses in his day, and that he was aware that *deaconess* was used as a synonym for *abbess*. But beyond this we cannot go; and if we would know how the office actually died away, we must look elsewhere. In a word, it passed away as it became overshadowed by and merged in the growth of monastic life. As in the East, the diaconate of women was never actually abolished, but although there may possibly have been particular survivals at a later date,[3] the office had practically ceased to exist before the end of the twelfth century.

The final stage can be traced more clearly. There had been a custom in the West from early days that virgins might not (as a rule) receive their solemn consecration, which they received

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mensis ordo diaconatus in prædictis viris incœptus, ad dominicam altaris mensam postmodum est translatus: ut qui diaconarum fuerant diaconi, nunc levitæ efficiantur Christi. Quibus pariter et feminas in hoc diaconatus ordine ab apostolo conjunctas esse, doctores sancti multis profitentur in locis."—*Serm. xxxi.* (*Opera*, ed. Cousin, Paris, 1849, pp. 553 *f.*).

[1] *Ep.* vii. ad Heloissam (ed. Cousin, pp. 121 *f.*) [p. 134]: "Abbatissas quippe quas nunc dicimus antiquitus diaconissas vocabant, quasi ministeriales potius quam matres. Diaconus quippe minister interpretatur, et diaconissas ab administratione potius quam a prælatione nuncupandas esse censebant, secundum quod ipse Dominus tam exemplis quam verbis instituit, dicens, 'Qui major est vestrum, erit minister vester.'"

[2] *Ep.* viii. ad Heloissam (*ibid.*, p. 164): "Septem vero personas ex vobis ad omnem monasterii administrationem necessarias esse credimus atque sufficere: portariam [*one MS.* janitorem] scilicet, cellarariam, vestiariam, infirmariam, cantricem, sacristam, et ad extremum diaconissam, quam nunc abbatissam nominant," and so on throughout the letter.

[3] According to Richard (the author of the *Analysis Conciliorum*) there were vestiges of the office in certain churches of France in the eighteenth century; and Macer says that the office still existed in his day—*i.e.*, in the seventeenth century—in Milan Cathedral (see Robinson, pp. 94 *f.*). But they may only mean monastic survivals, or societies such as the guild of women at Milan, whose members to this day present their oblation of Bread and Wine on certain festivals. Moreri (*Dizionario*, *s.v.* Diaconissa) says that the office lasted longer in Spain than in Gaul. We have found no mention of the office in Spanish councils, but the Church was so closely connected with that of Gaul that the office would naturally have passed from the one to the other.

at the hands of the bishop, before the age of twenty-five.[1] At a later period, not before they were forty, there followed the solemn veiling;[2] and it is evident that this veil was regarded as a sign of authority and dignity, much as the dress of a *presbytis* was regarded by the abbess of whom Gregory the Great writes.[3] In later years girls were allowed to make their professions as nuns when they had completed their twelfth year; and they wore a veil from the first. But this veil, the *veil of profession*, was carefully distinguished from the *veil of consecration*,[4] which was still conferred at the age of twenty-five; and this, again, from yet another veil which was conferred after the age of forty, and which was sometimes known as the *veil of ordination*.[5] Now, how has this come about? The answer seems clear. As we have seen, forty was the earliest age (as a rule) for the ordination of a deaconess.[6] The two things have been merged in one: the ordination of deaconesses has fallen into desuetude, and one of the blessings of a nun has come to be regarded as a quasi-ordination.

St. Antonino of Florence says that this quasi-ordination, formerly never conferred before the completion of the fortieth year, was in his time conferred on nuns after their benediction (or consecration). It was conferred by the bishop, who delivered to them the Breviary; and they were thereby empowered to say the canonical offices in church.[7] This has continued in the Roman Communion down to our own day; and the Roman Pontifical expressly says that in some monasteries this power is customarily given to the nuns *loco Diaconissatus*.[8]

[1] See the third Council of Carthage (A.D. 399), can. iv. In exceptional cases they might be veiled earlier: Conc. Milevit. (A.D. 403), can. xxvi.

[2] See the Council of Autun, A.D. 507, can. xix.: "Sanctimoniales . . . ante annum ætatis suæ quadragesimum non velentur"; and the first Council of Tarragona, can. viii. (*Collectio Canonum Ecclesiæ Hispaniæ*, I., cols. 234, 305, ed. Matriti, 1808.)

[3] See above, p. 118.

[4] St. Antonino (*Summa*, pars iii., tit. ii., No. 2) distinguishes between the *velum professionis, quod datur duodecimo anno completo*, and the *velum consecrationis, quod datur anno vigesimo quinto ætatis*.

[5] Peter of Poitiers, the first commentator on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, speaks of it, but says that in his time it had fallen into abeyance: "Est velum ordinationis in Diaconissis quadragesimo anno, sed abiit in desuetudinem" (*In Sent.*, lib. iv., dist. 20, litt. f.).

[6] See above, p. 111. Zonaras speaks of the same three stages for deaconesses: virgins are professed, then consecrated by the bishop, and then ordained deaconesses at the age of forty (*In Can. xix. Nic.*).

[7] "Confertur ei aliqua benedictio, ex qua accipit officium inchoandi horas in Choro et legere Homiliam quod alias non licet. Unde et ab Episcopo datur ei Breviarium ad tangendum, ubi sunt homiliæ de Evangelio in Matutinis" (*Summa*, pars iii., tit. ii., No. 2).

[8] "Et, quia in nonnullis Monasteriis est consuetudo, quod loco Diaconissatus, virginibus consecratis datur facultas incipiendi Horas canonicas, et legendi Officium in Ecclesia; . . . tum sedet Pontifex, accepta

It is said that in the case of the Carthusian nuns, indeed, the diaconissate itself is conferred, by old custom.[1] This may perhaps be the case; but whether it be so or not, these monastic customs contain the only reminiscence of the ancient office of deaconess which has survived the Middle Ages.[2]

We turn now to those developments of women's work in modern days which have gone under this name, and to the steps which are being taken in our own day to restore this ancient ecclesiastical order.

It has been noticed already that the office of the deaconess has always found favour with sectarian bodies. Not to speak here of those of early days,[3] it appears that the Cathari of the Middle Ages had a ministry of deaconesses, and that one of their objections against the Church of their day was the fact that the office had ceased to exist.[4] The Bohemian *Unitas Fratrum*, again, appears to have had such a ministry; for their descendants the Moravian Brethren are said to have been only reviving the office when they resolved, at their synod held at Marienborn in 1745, to appoint and bless deaconesses for the care of the women.[5]

The period of the Reformation, again, with its strongly practical side, and its tendency to copy the institutions of the Apostolic age,[6] naturally gave rise to many bodies with a similar organisation. The Mennonites of the Low Countries, who

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mitra, et tradit Breuiarium illis, ambabus manibus ipsum tangentibus dicens: Accipite librum, vt incipiatis Horas canonicas, et legatis Officium in Ecclesia. In nomine Pa✝tris, et Fi✝lii, et Spiritus✝sancti. ℟. Amen."—*Pontificale Romanum*, after the *Virginum Consecratio* (ed. Antverpiæ, 1627, p. 162).

[1] See an article in the *Month*, June, 1894, p. 234 (quoted by Miss Robinson, p. 98).

[2] One curious secular parallel lasted till modern days. The *scuoli*, or guilds of the *traghetti* (ferries) at Venice had officers who bore this name. Under the *bancali*, or board of five ruling officers of each society, there were six deacons for the men and six deaconesses for the women, who were to minister to the sick and dead, to collect subscriptions, etc. (Horatio F. Brown, *Life on the Lagoons*, p. 127).

[3] The Montanists (Ps.-Ambr., *In* 1 *Tim.* iii. 1), Paulicians (*Conc. Nic.*, can. xix.), Macedonians (Soz., *H. E.*, ix. 2), and Manichees (*Conc. Nimet.*, can. ii.).

[4] Döllinger, *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters*, i., pp. 186, 203. It is possible that they derived them from the Manichees already referred to.

[5] Crantz, *History of the Brethren* (translated by La Trobe, London, 1780), p. 307. We believe that the Moravians still have their deaconesses.

[6] In Rom. xvi. 1, the Genevan version reads: "Laquelle est diaconisse de l'Église de Cenchrée"; but we have not noticed any other version of the period with a similar reading.

derived their origin from Menno Simons of Friesland (1492-1559), had deaconesses in their larger congregations;[1] so had the congregation of Protestant refugees at Wesel,[2] and probably others as well. Owing to their intercourse with these foreign congregations, the English Puritans of Elizabeth's reign were already turning their thoughts in the same direction. In the course of his controversy with Whitgift, Cartwright declares that of those who exercised the diaconate in the early Church there were "two kinds," of whom "some had charge over all the poor of the Church (as those which are called deacons), some had charge over the poor strangers, and those poor which were sick only, and those St. Paul calleth[3] in one place deaconesses, and in another place widows."[4] But the matter did not end here. A meeting of sixty Puritan clergymen, who were followers of his, was held in 1575, first at Cockfield in Suffolk, and then at Cambridge; and in their conclusions, "drawn up in an elegant Latin style by Mr. Cartwright and Mr. Travers," provision was made for the setting apart of "deacons of both sorts, viz., men and women," who were to be chosen with prayer, presented to the Church, and instructed in their duties, and then "received into their office with the general prayers of the whole Church."[5] In fact, it is clear that, as Bancroft said (though without naming him), Cartwright considered the deaconesses to be "necessary parts of the form of that Church government which Christ and

[1] Schyn, *Historia Mennonitarum plenior Deductio* (Amstelædami, 1729), p. 40.

[2] See an article by Dr. Fliedner in the *Armen- und Kranken-Freund* (Kaiserswerth) for 1854, based upon the archives of the Wesel congregation. Dr. Fliedner appears to have been under the impression that deaconesses had died out in the Low Countries before the middle of the seventeenth century, and gives four "instructive reasons" (so Howson, *Deaconesses*, p. 69) to account for the fact. But they still survived amongst the Mennonites in Dr. Schyn's day (*i.e.*, 1729), although they appear to have died out since then. Such at least is the natural conclusion from the fact that there is no mention of them in the careful account of the Mennonites in Barclay's *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, pp. 78-82, which was "carefully corrected by Dr. Scheffer, the Principal of the Mennonite College in Amsterdam."

[3] The reference is, of course, to Rom. xvi. 1 and 1 Tim. v. 10; Cartwright makes the same confusion of deaconesses and widows as is made by many more.

[4] See Whitgift, *Works*, iii. 281 (Parker Society). It is interesting to notice Whitgift's reply. As to the fact itself he does not dissent ("There is no great matter in all this," etc.); but he points out that Cartwright's restriction of the work of the deaconess is not based upon the New Testament. And elsewhere he explains that everything contained in the Epistles to St. Timothy is not necessarily of perpetual observance (*ibid.*, pp. 173, 293).

[5] Neal, *History of the Puritans*, i. 227 (ed. 1837). The title of the regulation is: "Of Collectors for the Poor, or Deacons."

His Apostles have appointed, . . . as necessary as either Pastor, Doctor, Elders, or Men Deacons."[1]

But apparently this was a part of Cartwright's system which did not specially commend itself to the Puritans at large, and there is nothing to suggest that the plan was carried out by the Presbyterians of the next century.[2] So far as English people are concerned, it is amongst the Independents that we first hear of the deaconess as an existing Church officer. It began in Holland; and was due, almost certainly, to the intercourse between them and the Mennonites.[3] The account is so interesting that it is worth giving in full:

"At Amsterdam, before their division and breach, they were about three hundred communicants, and they had for their pastor and teacher these two eminent men before named [Mr. Francis Johnson and Mr. Henry Ainsworth], and in our time four grave men for ruling elders, and three able and godly men for deacons, one ancient widow for a deaconess, who did them service many years, though she was sixty years of age when she was chosen. She honoured her place and was an ornament to the congregation. She usually sat in a convenient place in the congregation, with a little birchen rod in her hand, and kept little children in great awe from disturbing the congregation. She did frequently visit the sick and weak, especially women, and, as there was need, called out maids and young women to watch and do them other help as their necessity did require; and if they were poor, she would gather relief for them of those that were able, or acquaint the deacons; and she was obeyed as a mother in Israel and an officer of Christ."[4]

Such was the Independent deaconess in Amsterdam; and so valuable was she accounted that she was presently introduced into England. A very rare tract, published in 1642, by John Robinson, formerly minister of the congregation at Leyden, describes the organisation of the Independent congregations of that date. Amongst the officers mentioned are the deaconesses or widows, who are "to attend the sick and impotent with compassion and cheerfulness."[5] A like organisation seems to have continued amongst the sects having an independent basis for some time longer; and although it died out as they ceased

[1] Bancroft, *Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline*, p. 177 (quoted in Howson, *Deaconesses*, p. 59).

[2] There is nothing about it in the *Directory of Church Government;* and, needless to say, the Scottish Presbyterians of the Westminster Assembly, followers of the author of *The Monstrous Regiment of Women*, would have none of it.

[3] Arber, *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, pp. 137 *f.*; Collins, *The English Reformation and its Consequences*, p. 194.

[4] Governor William Bradford, *A Dialogue, or the Sum of a Conference between some Young Men born in New England, and Sundry Ancient Men that came out of Holland and of Old England : Anno Domini* 1648. (See A. Young, *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, pp. 455 *f.*, Boston, 1841).

[5] John Robinson, *A Brief Catechism concerning Church Government*, quoted in Barclay, *Inner Life*, p. 104 *n.*

to realise the Church as a polity, yet so widespread was it at one time that even in the Society of Friends there was a tendency to regard their female workers as deaconesses.[1] Not only so: the later Non-Jurors were led, by their study of Christian antiquity, to desire the revival of the office. No doubt it was never used, but in Dr. Deacon's *Complete Collection of Devotions*, published in 1734, there is given "The Form and Manner of Ordaining Deaconesses."[2]

So far (at least, with the exception of the Quakers above mentioned) the diaconate of women had been regarded as a strictly ecclesiastical office and as a part of the properly organised ministry. It is true, of course, that from the very nature of the case these Mennonite, or Presbyterian, or Independent "deaconesses" could not be admitted to their office by the laying on of the hands of the bishop. But they formed a definite part of the ministry of the Church to which they belonged, they stood on the same footing with the male ministers, and were, like them, regularly admitted to their office with the prayers of the congregation. But the present century, in which so great an impulse has been given to all forms of women's work, has seen the inauguration of something of quite a different kind in the so-called deaconess institutions which are now in existence in most of the Reformed Churches on the Continent.

In the year 1833 Dr. Fliedner, the devoted Lutheran pastor of Kaiserswerth in the Rhineland, the place whence the Emperor Henry IV. was abducted by Anno of Cologne in 1062, inaugurated a work for women which was destined to have far-reaching results. The original impetus appears to have come from Dr. Fliedner's intimacy with Elizabeth Fry, whom he met whilst seeking funds in England for the relief of his impoverished congregation; and the original plan was to form a society of

[1] Sewell, *History of the Quakers*, iii. 399 (ed. 1811). Some of the women "as deaconesses, met together at set times to provide for sick families and sick people that were in want" (quoted by Howson, *Deaconesses*, p. 234). At a yet earlier date the ministry of women had been found to need control. The following letter from Edward Burrough to George Fox, dated 1656, is preserved amongst the papers at Devonshire House: "This little short maid that comes to thee, she has been this long while abroad, and in her there *is little or no service* as in the ministry. It were well to be laid on her to be a *servant* somewhere. *That* is more *her* place. I leave it to thee. Friends where she has been have been burdened by her" (printed in Barclay, *Inner Life*, p. 345).

[2] Reprinted by Hall, *Fragmenta Liturgica*, vi. 293 *f.* A deaconess is not to be ordained before the age of forty "unless upon a particular occasion, of which the Bishop is to be judge"; and she is to assist at the baptism of women, to instruct children and women before baptism, to supervise the women in Church and rebuke and correct those who misbehave, and "to introduce any woman who wanteth to make application to a Deacon, Presbyter, or Bishop."

women who should devote themselves to work amongst discharged female prisoners. But the project grew and spread, and little by little Dr. Fliedner's own ideas expanded. He began to think of forming an organisation which should supply the place of the deaconesses or widows of early days—for they were one and the same thing to him. And thus there was organised the "Society of Deaconesses for the Rhenish Provinces and Westphalia."[1] A similar society was started independently at Strassburg by Pastor Härter in 1842;[2] and about the same time an institution of the same kind was founded at Paris by M. Vermiel.[3] Since then they have sprung up in great numbers, and in all parts of the Continent;[4] and there is no reason to doubt that wherever they have been founded they have been the means of doing a large amount of very good work.

But, as we have already remarked, there is a sharp line of demarcation between the earlier Protestant "deaconesses" and the members of these institutions. In the first place, whereas the former were a distinct and regular part of the ministry of the bodies to which they belonged, the latter are distinctly to be regarded as a voluntary organisation of the laity. Again, whereas the former had a clear individual status of their own, the latter are primarily members of an institution. In fact, to sum up the whole matter in a few words, the modern Continental deaconess institutions have been formed on the basis of sisterhoods, minus the vows. The real underlying idea is that the deaconesses are Protestant "Sisters of Mercy" or "Sisters of Charity," freed from the dangers and the corruptions of Popery, as people expressed it. And their real analogy, as Pankowski acutely perceived,[5] is with the professed nuns of the Church, and not with the deaconesses of early days.

Of this fact there can be no real doubt. It is true that both Pastor Fliedner and Pastor Härter, and possibly others too, had turned their attention to the deaconesses of old, and may have persuaded themselves[6] that they were restoring officers of a similar kind. It is true that, in Westphalia and some other

[1] There is an interesting *Account of the Institution for Deaconesses* (London, 1851) which is still worth referring to. It was published anonymously, but is known to have been by Miss Florence Nightingale, who received part of her training at Kaiserswerth. See also Howson, *Deaconesses*, pp. 70-85.

[2] Howson, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 *f.*

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 208 *f.*

[4] A full list, with the dates of foundation in most cases, is given in Dr. Schäfer's article (Herzog-Hauck, iv. 615 *f.*).

[5] *Op. cit.*, § 57: "Hæc institutio non est instauratio illarum diaconissarum veteris ecclesiæ . . . sed potius imitatio muneris, quod obeunt in ecclesia catholica quæ dicuntur sorores a misericordia."

[6] [Fliedner quite distinctly made the claim.—H. U. W. S.]

Lutheran provinces,[1] a certain amount of official recognition is given to the deaconess institutions on the part of the Lutheran body.[2] It is also true that, in some at any rate of the Lutheran deaconess institutions, the "deaconesses" are admitted to their office, after training, by a formal service of dedication, with a laying on of hands (*Einsegnung*).[3] But no attempt is made to confer any *character* thereby; the "deaconesses" are simply admitted, with a religious service of a private nature,[4] into a voluntary society for common life and work, which they may leave at the call of more urgent duties. And where there is a conditional undertaking not to leave the work for a term of years, it is avowedly based upon the claim which the society has upon its members in return for its work of training them.[5]

Moreover, if the ancient deaconess was in the mind of the founders, it is no less clear that the modern "Sister of Mercy" was too. They took every precaution to avoid being suspected of Popery; and the points which were most carefully weighed were just those points in which the new institution was to be raised above suspicion. In fact, the real pattern throughout was the sisterhood of the Church denuded of some of its most distinctive features. For novitiate, superiors, and vows are alike dispensed with; and although a distinctive clothing was adopted, it was made as different as possible in character from those of the religious orders. Even the name *Diakonissin* was little more than an accidental feature, being adopted largely in default of a better description.[6] When Elizabeth Fry was preparing to found her similar institution in Devonshire Square,[7] she only abstained from calling the members of it *Protestant Sisters of Charity* owing to Dr. Fliedner's advice that such a description was undesirable. At Paris, the name *diaconesse* was only adopted after prolonged consideration, the title at first proposed being *sœur de charité protestante*. In a word, no careful reader of the literature of the time when they were founded, or even of Dr. Howson's *Deaconesses*, which contains the best

[1] [There are no Lutherian provinces.—H. U. W. S.]

[2] [It is as official as any other service (*e.g.*, confirmation) that a Lutherian pastor holds.—H. U. W. S.]

[3] Howson, *Deaconesses*, p. 74, and Dr. Schäfer's article.

[4] In which, in some cases, the elder deaconesses took part! (Howson, *Deaconesses*, p. 92).

[5] At Kaiserswerth the promised period of service was five years; but there was "perfect liberty to retire at any time if new circumstances should urgently require it" (*ibid.*, 101 *n.*).

[6] [As regards Kaiserswerth this is incorrect. It was wittingly adopted on historical grounds.—H. U. W. S.]

[7] This institution, founded in 1840, is still doing excellent work under the name of the Nursing Sisters' Institution.

general account in English of their early history,[1] can fail to see that the new institution is nothing but an attempt to supply the place which was supplied elsewhere by religious communities of women.[2]

Meanwhile, the work which had been done by Dr. Fleidner and his fellow-pioneers had not been without its effect in England; and before long attempts were made, from within the English Church, as well as outside, to organise women's work on a similar basis. We have already referred to Mrs. Fry's institution in Devonshire Square. In 1867 a so-called "Evangelical Protestant Deaconesses' Institution" was founded at Tottenham, where it is still at work. And even before this, in 1860, a small training college[3] for women had been founded at Barnet by an English clergyman, the Rev. W. Pennefather.[4] He afterwards removed it to London, where it has grown into the extensive "Mildmay Missions," with a large Deaconess Institution and many other kindred works.

But it was obvious from the first that institutions of this kind could not loyally go on working in the English Church without proper episcopal sanction and supervision, any more than sisterhoods could. Even granting that they were purely voluntary associations, and their title of "deaconess" self-imposed and meaningless, there could be no question that such masquerading was in itself absurd, and in its tendencies destructive. Meanwhile, too, the need for some such organised women's work, quite apart from that of sisterhoods, was ever more widely felt; whilst in England, more than elsewhere, the revival of the ancient office of deaconess was the object aimed at. The matter engaged the attention of Convocation in the years from 1858 to 1862; and whilst the Lower House desired that a joint committee might be appointed to consider the subject, and to recommend what steps should be taken, the Upper House, with its usual far-seeing wisdom and calm deliberation, perceived that the time had not yet come for action. For this decision, as for many similar ones which have preserved us from the hasty

[1] The fullest account in German, and by far the best, is Dr. Theodor Schäfer's *Die weibliche Diakonie in ihrem ganzen Umfang dargestellt*, in three volumes (2nd edition, Stuttgart, 1887-1894). Much of its information is compressed into his article in Herzog-Hauck.

[2] See, for instance, Dr. Howson's definition of the deaconess: "By deaconesses we understand something contrasted with desultory Lady Visitors on the one hand, and with strictly conventual Sisterhoods on the other" (p. 2; and see pp. 148-150). The whole object of his book was to urge that the deaconess movement should receive "some further ecclesiastical recognition," rather than that an ancient ecclesiastical order should be revived.

[3] [It was really a home.—H. U. W. S.]

[4] Miss Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

inconsiderateness of the moment, we cannot be too thankful One shudders to think of the shapeless and unnatural erection with which we might have been burdened had the Lower House had its way.

But although the time had not yet come for action on the part of the Church, in the direction of a revival of the ancient order of deaconesses, there was nothing to prevent the adoption in the English Church of methods of work which had proved satisfactory elsewhere—the workers being admitted to their office, not by private persons, but by the bishop. And in 1862 the Bishop of London (Dr. Tait), acting on his own authority, thought good to lay hands on Miss Elizabeth Ferard, thus setting her apart as a (titular) deaconess. At the same time the first diocesan deaconess institution was inaugurated in the North of London, Deaconess Elizabeth Ferard being its first head, and its first chaplain being Mr. Pelham Dale. Since then similar institutions have been founded in many other dioceses, both at home and abroad,[1] and the parish deaconess is now a familiar feature of Anglican Church life.

By degrees, too, they have received fuller recognition from the Church at large. In 1871 a body of "Principles and Rules suggested for adoption in the Church of England,"[2] was drawn up, and signed by the two archbishops and eighteen of the bishops. A deaconess is here defined as "a woman set apart by a Bishop, under that title, for service in the Church"; so that henceforward no person could loyally use the title who had not thus been set apart. Further provisions are made as to the relations of the deaconess to those under whose authority she may be working from time to time, and a number of "Suggested Rules" are added.[3] The subject was again brought forward more than once in the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury, but it was not until twenty years afterwards that the time seemed ripe for further action. When it came, however, it was a distinct step in advance. In 1891 a series of eight "Resolutions"[4] upon the subject was passed by the Convocation of Canterbury, in which further provisions are made with regard to the probation, admission, and work of deaconesses. And the first of these

[1] A full list of such institutions in England and Wales will be found in the *Church Year-Book*, or in Appendix E of Miss Robinson's book. Information with regard to the Colonies is given at pp. 125 *f.* of the latter.

[2] Given by Miss Robinson in Appendix D.

[3] One of these "suggested rules" is as follows: "It is desirable that a deaconess should not drop the use of her surname; and with this end in view it is suggested that her official designation should be '*Deaconess A. B.*' (Christian and Surname), and her official signature should be '*A. B., Deaconess.*'"

[4] Given by Miss Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

resolutions speaks as follows with regard to what had been already done:

"That Deaconesses having, according to the best authorities, formed an order of ministry in the early Church, and having proved their efficiency in the Anglican Church, *whenever the order has been revived*,[1] it is desirable to encourage the formation of Deaconess Institutions and the work of Deaconesses in our dioceses and parishes."

The Anglican "deaconess" has thus received something of synodical recognition in the province of Canterbury,[2] though not, so far as we are aware, in that of York. But it is clear that the whole feeling of the Anglican Communion is in its favour. And in the Lambeth Conference of 1897, not only is the office dealt with in a Report upon the subject of Religious Communities,[3] but the eleventh of the "Resolutions formally adopted by the Conference" is as follows:

"That this Conference recognises with thankfulness the revival alike of Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods and of the office of Deaconess in our branch of the Church, and commends to the attention of the Church the Report of the Committee appointed to consider the Relation of the Religious Communities to the Episcopate."[4]

The new institution has thus received the approval of the Church in no small measure: principles and rules respecting it have been "suggested for adoption" by the two English archbishops and a majority of the bishops; it has received the formal recognition of the Convocation of Canterbury; and, although this gives it no new *canonical* standing, it has received the cordial approval of a far greater assembly, the Lambeth Conference of 1897. But it will be observed that some of the passages which we have quoted go further than this. The first resolution of the Convocation of Canterbury speaks of the order of deaconesses as having been *revived;* so does the eleventh resolution of the Lambeth Conference; whilst the Report of its Committee states, by implication, that the deaconess holds "a position in the Church

[1] The *italics* are ours.

[2] Two years before this, a canon on the subject had been passed by the Church of the United States (tit. i., can. x.: given by Miss Robinson, p. 222), in which it is provided that properly qualified unmarried women may be "appointed to the office of Deaconess" by any bishop after the age of twenty-five, to be set apart with an "appropriate religious service," and to be under the direct authority of the bishop when not engaged in work under the rector of a parish. Such a deaconess may "at any time resign her office," but no deaconess who has so resigned her office shall be "reappointed thereto, unless there be, in the judgment of the Bishop of the diocese where she resigned her office, weighty cause for such reappointment."

[3] *Encyclical Letter from the Bishops, with the Resolutions and Reports*, pp. 59 *f.*; Miss Robinson, p. 219.

[4] *Encyclical Letter*, etc., p. 35.

similar to that which belonged to the deaconess of early days."[1] Now neither of these passages explicitly declares that the modern deaconess holds the same position as that held by the deaconess in early days, or that she has actually received orders; yet they might easily be taken to mean this.[2] And, in fact, the Bishop of Winchester has ventured yet further; for in the kindly and otherwise beautiful "Introduction" which he contributes to Miss Robinson's book he actually goes so far as to speak of the "band of trained and faithful women *bearing the sacred commission of the diaconate*"[3] in the two dioceses over which he has ruled.

It therefore becomes important to ask whether, as a fact, the modern deaconess *does* hold a position in any way analogous to that of the deaconess of early days; whether, as a fact, women have at the present time a true part in the orders of the Church. We are aware that this is the conviction of a large number of the deaconesses themselves; but that is hardly the point. In the book which we have placed at the head of this article, Miss Robinson writes throughout on the same assumption; but that is not the point either. Even the resolution of the bishops upon the subject is not conclusive; for after all, this is a question of fact, and no amount of saying that people are deaconesses can make them other than what they actually are. The question can only be settled by the consideration of two points: (*a*) What was the actual position of the ancient deaconess? and (*b*) What is the precise nature of the setting apart of the modern deaconess?

With regard to the first point, the answer is clear from what has been said already. There were, no doubt, certain very considerable variations in her status from time to time and in different parts of the Church: at some periods she ranked after the men-deacons, and at others after the readers and singers; in general she was "ordained" in the fullest sense of the word, whilst in Lower Egypt, and amongst the Paulician heretics, she was merely admitted like the widows and virgins and (in some cases at least) the doorkeepers. But, at any rate, wherever she

[1] *Encyclical Letter*, etc., p. 60.

[2] In the address to the people in the *Form for admitting Deaconesses*, as used in some dioceses (*e.g.*, London and Rochester) it is explicitly stated that "in the Primitive Church there was a custom to admit [as it seems, *East London*] publicly and in the sight of the congregation [and, *E. L.*], by the authority of the Bishop, women of godly life and conversation, to be Deaconesses or Servants of the Church; and we are here met together that we may receive *her* who is now presented to us to be admitted into this ancient order," etc. Oddly enough, this strange exhortation *precedes* the presentation of the candidates to the bishop!

[3] *Ministry of Deaconesses*, p. xi. The *italics* are ours.

existed, the ancient deaconess was always set apart for a life-long ministry,[1] formed a definite part of the κλῆρος, and had certain definitely "clerical" duties to perform.

Now, is this the case with regard to the modern deaconess? We venture to think that the evidence goes the other way. (1) It must be borne in mind that we are dealing with an institution which came into being through direct imitation of a similar institution already existing in the Reformed bodies on the Continent. We may not therefore conclude too rashly that the members of such an institution are also something entirely different.

(2) Further, the fact must not be forgotten that at the Reformation the orders below the diaconate fell into abeyance in the English Church. However desirable their restoration may be, it can hardly be claimed that a new order could come into existence unconsciously, and without a deliberate act on the part of the Church. But it would puzzle anyone to say when this was done with regard to the modern deaconess. It would be truer by far to say that such action as has at present been taken points to an assumption that the ancient deaconess was *not* in orders, followed by a resolve to restore an office of the same nature.

(3) Nor can it be contended that an episcopal blessing for a particular work, with laying on of hands, has of necessity conferred a new order on the recipient. Such a blessing might easily be given to any lay person for any lay work which was about to be entrusted to him.

(4) Nor is there anything in the form itself which suggests that a new order is being conferred. It varies somewhat in different dioceses, but the general character is much the same in those which we have examined. That in use in the diocese of Rochester may serve as a specimen. The service takes place after the Nicene Creed, or after the Third Collect, or as may be appointed; the candidates are commended by the bishop to the prayers of the people, then presented to him and examined, and the *Veni Creator* is sung over them:

> *"The Bishop shall then lay his hands upon the head of the person to be made Deaconess, and solemnly bless her, after the following manner:*
>
> "God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, bless, preserve, and sanctify you; and so fill you with all spiritual benediction and grace, with all faith, wisdom, and humility, that you may serve before Him to the glory of His great Name, and to the benefit of His Church and people;

[1] It is not accurate to say with regard to the ancient deaconess (Robinson, p. 73) that "to marry was her equivalent to leaving the ministry." It was an offence which was punished by deposition and expulsion from communion.

and make you faithful unto death, and give you the crown of everlasting life. Amen.

"N. or M., I admit thee to the office of Deaconess, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

"*Then shall the Bishop give the Cross to the Deaconess, saying:*

"Receive and wear this Cross, a symbol of thy profession as Deaconess. Be not ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified; bear ever in thy heart the remembrance of His love who died on the Cross for thee. Amen."[1]

Now this form, solemn as it is, contains nothing which might not perfectly well be used, *mutatis mutandis*, in the appointment of a lay-reader or a diocesan reader, or in the admission of a lay member of a cathedral body.

(5) Nor is there anything in the work of the modern deaconess to suggest that she has received a new order. The deaconess of early days had definite ecclesiastical functions to perform; the modern deaconess has nothing whatever to do which is not distinctly lay work, and which is not done by other lay-women.

(6) Above all, the modern deaconess is no more than the officer of a particular diocese; an officer formally recognised, indeed, in the province of Canterbury, but existing in any diocese only at the wish or by the sufferance of the bishop for the time being. She has no definite permanent place in the Church. She may at any moment resign her office, or be relieved of it by the bishop. This was definitely stated in the "Principles and Rules" of 1871, in which it is recommended that

"A Deaconess shall be at liberty to resign her commission as Deaconess, or may be deprived of it by the Bishop of the diocese in which she is working."[2]

We have already noticed that the canon of the American Church upon the subject contains a similar provision. In accordance with this principle, the following question used to be asked of

[1] The East London form is much the same, excepting that the *Veni Creator* is omitted. In the Winchester form the blessing is omitted, and a prayer for the candidates precedes the laying on of hands. In the diocese of Ely the form is somewhat different:

"*Then shall the Bishop lay his hands on the head of each person to be made Deaconess and say:*

"I admit thee, dearly beloved, to the office of Deaconess, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

"*Then shall follow the Blessing.*

"God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, bless you both in body and soul with all temporal and eternal blessing, now, henceforth, and for evermore. Amen."

[2] *Ministry of Deaconesses*, p. 215.

the candidates for the office in the diocese of Ely, and we believe in other dioceses too:

> "Inasmuch as this office is not to be lightly undertaken or relinquished, it is [*sic*] your present purpose to continue in it *for the space of three years at the least*?[1] *Answer:* I purpose to do so by the help of God."

Latterly, we are glad to say, there has been a considerable improvement in this matter, and the Resolutions of 1891 only declare "that a Deaconess so admitted may be released from her obligations by the Bishop, if he thinks fit, upon cause shown."[2] This is more satisfactory, though we cannot but ask how it affects those who were set apart under a "Principle" by which they were "at liberty to resign their commission," or who declared it to be their "present" purpose to continue in their office for three years. And even so, it is not enough. Miss Robinson may not be far wrong in saying that "all English deaconesses are united"[3] as to the permanence of their calling; but that is not the point. The question is, not whether they intend to persevere, but how far they are bound; not how far they have devoted themselves, but how great an obligation has been placed upon them. There is nothing to prevent the removal of such a (normally) lifelong obligation by the authority which imposed it; and we are, of course, aware that minor orders, formerly regarded as indelible,[4] have been made matter for dispensations in the Roman Communion since the time of Innocent III. If at some future time the bishops should definitely admit women to an office of a permanent character (even though dispensable in cases of emergency), such as should give them a definite place in the ranks of the clergy, this would place them in a position analogous to that of the ancient deaconess. But such action would not be retrospective, and could have no effect upon those who had already been set apart on an entirely different basis—viz., the basis of a common life of service without any guarantee of permanence.

That some such further action is desirable we are convinced; for the present position of the deaconess is a somewhat anomalous one. *Qua* deaconess, she is neither one thing nor the other—neither a minister of the Church in any strict sense nor a professed sister, though a good deal like both. In fact, she is something like Rudyard Kipling's marine:

> "'E isn't one o' the reg'lar Line, nor 'e isn't one of the crew.
> 'E's a kind of a giddy harumfrodite,—soldier and sailor too!"

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[1] The words in *italics* are not now used.
[2] *Ministry of Deaconesses*, p. 218.
[3] *Ministry of Deaconesses*, p. 151.
[4] See the seventh canon of the Council of Chalcedon.

But the cases are not at all parallel. It is the very nature of the marine to occupy this intermediate position; whereas it cannot be too clearly recognised that the deaconess and the professed sister are entirely distinct in their aim: the former is ministerial, the latter is "religious." A deaconess may also, no doubt, be a professed nun, just as a priest or a deacon may also be a monk; and we believe that the Committee appointed by the Lambeth Conference is quite right in thinking that there is room for both "religious" and "secular" deaconesses.[1] But the two things are quite distinct in kind. A deaconess is not "professed" because she is a deaconess, nor does a professed sister hold any ministerial office in the Church because she is professed. No doubt it is highly expedient that a deaconess should be unmarried, and in many cases that she should be professed; but neither of these can be considered as an *essential* part of her office.[2]

At present the whole subject is complicated because there is a tendency—natural enough in view of their present precarious position—for deaconesses to fashion their life on the analogy of the life of professed nuns. Those who have seen much of their work in different parishes may have noticed this; and there have been cases—they could be produced if it were necessary—in which grave misunderstanding, to say the least, has been caused by a deaconess aping the ways of professed nuns: wearing a colourable imitation of their dress; calling herself "Sister" this or that; speaking of the "obedience" which she owes, not to the bishop and the parish priest, but to the deaconess institution in which she was trained; and otherwise acting in a way that is equally silly and misleading, however natural it might be in the case of one who was actually under vows.

We need hardly say that in all this we have no desire to disparage the work which is being done at the present time by a noble and self-sacrificing body of women; but we desire once more to emphasise the fact that this agency has not yet attained its full development. In the Report which they have already issued, the Committee appointed by the Lambeth Conference express their intention of issuing a "further Report" at a later

[1] See § 3 of the Report: *Encyclical Letter*, etc., p. 61.

[2] It was the old canonical rule of the East that a deaconess should be unmarried or a widow. But this is not based upon the nature of the case: it is merely a canonical provision, and may be set aside in just the same way as old regulations enjoining celibacy upon the clergy. We have seen that one married woman separated from her husband (Queen Rhadegund) was ordained a deaconess, and that the wives of those who became bishops might be so ordained. And if, as some think, Priscilla was a deaconess, there is very early precedent for a married woman holding the office.

date. Is it too much to hope that this further Report may suggest means for securing for the deaconess of the future—(*a*) A definite position in the ministerial life of the Church, with the obligations corresponding to that position; (*b*) definite limitations of the sphere of the deaconess institution, as being to the deaconess precisely what a theological college is to a person in Holy Orders; and (*c*) a clear recognition of the fact that, *qua* deaconesses, they are not Sisters but simply ordinary secular folk?

BRASS OF ELIZABETH HARVEY, ABBESS OF ELSTOW,
in ELSTOW CHURCH, BEDS., c. 1525.
Wearing choir cope over Black Benedictine habit.

[*Facing p.* 144.

APPENDIX VIII

DOUBLE MONASTERIES AND THE MALE ELEMENT IN NUNNERIES

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The origin and constitution of the double monasteries of early Saxon times are very obscure. Such monasteries were known alike in Ireland and in Gaul, and both influences may have had to do with their foundation in England. Within half a century from the coming of St. Augustine, while monasteries in England were still few, men and women alike resorted to religious houses in the Frankish kingdom, and Bede mentions in particular the monasteries of Brie, Chelles, and Andely as favourite places to which noble ladies were sent for instruction and to take the vows. Two daughters of Anna, King of the East Angles, became abbesses of Brie, and their niece Earcongota, daughter of Earconbert, King of Kent, was celebrated for her holy works and miracles in the same house. Bede's relation of her death and of the acts of her aunt, the abbess St. Ethelburga, makes it clear that, under the rule of the abbess of Brie, there were brethren as well as sisters. They appear to have lived in several separate buildings or cells, and the precincts of the monastery included several churches or oratories. The church of St. Stephen, in which Earcongota and Ethelburga were buried, and the church of the Holy Apostles, begun by Ethelburga, are mentioned; and when Ethelburga died and her church was left unfinished, there was more than one completed church within the monastery in which her body could be laid. From the fact that the construction of the church of the Apostles was undertaken and eventually abandoned by the brethren, it may be inferred that, apart from the necessity of priests to celebrate Mass and hear confessions, the inclusion of men in the community was largely due to the requirements of manual labour.[1]

The first English double monastery of which Bede makes

[1] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 8.

mention is the unnamed house in Lincolnshire, not far from the monasteries of Bardney and Partney, of which Ethelhilda, sister of Ethelwin, Bishop of Lindsey in 680, was abbess. It has been identified, owing to a slight ambiguity in the text, with Bardney itself; but it is perfectly clear that, though in the neighbourhood, it was quite distinct from that famous monastery, where, although female guests were admitted, there is no indication that the double economy prevailed. Bede's story of the healing of a male guest in Ethelhilda's monastery by the presence of dust brought from the place where St. Oswald's bones had been washed at Bardney definitely mentions a building set apart for men, in which the stranger lay. There is, however, no specific reference to the brethren, although it would seem from the context that there were male servants attached to the monastery, and the building may have been merely a man's guest-house.[1]

Some time before his consecration as Bishop of London in 675, St. Earconwald founded a monastery for nuns, under the presidency of his sister Ethelburga, at Barking in Essex. Here there were brethren as well as sisters, dwelling in a separate house and having a separate church of their own; and the nuns were allowed to bring up boys of tender years.[2] But the fact that Barking was founded primarily for nuns, and as a sister-monastery to Earconwald's own abbey of Chertsey in Surrey,[3] makes it again probable that the male part of the establishment was purely subsidiary to its main purpose and, to use the terms of a period when monasticism was more fully regularised in England, was a community of monks in priests' orders who acted as chaplains to the whole house, and of lay-brothers who performed its necessary labours.

The monastery of Ely, founded by St. Etheldreda or Audrey in 673, was also a double foundation. Here, again, the brethren are mentioned by Bede in a context which implies that their main duty was manual labour. Her sister and successor, Sexburga, when about to translate Etheldreda's remains to the abbey church, ordered some of the brethren to find stone for a coffin. They travelled in a boat to the site of the Roman station near Cambridge, and there found a white marble sarcophagus, which they brought back with them to Ely. The brethren and sisters alike took part in the ceremony of the translation of the saint, standing upon opposite sides of the grave from which her bones were removed.[4]

Most famous of all the double monasteries was St. Hilda's abbey at Whitby. Her earlier monastery at or near Hartlepool

[1] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 11.
[2] *Ibid.*, iv. 7, 8.
[3] *Ibid.*, iv. 6
[4] *Ibid.*, iv. 19.

was also double, for Oftfor, consecrated Bishop of Worcester in 692, had studied in both monasteries. Bosa, Bishop of York 678-705; Haeddi, Bishop of Dorchester 676, and afterwards of Winchester; Tatfrid, Bishop-elect of Worcester in 692; St. John of Beverley and St. Wilfrid, were all *alumni* of Whitby.[1] Trumwine, Bishop of Abercorn, spent his last years at Whitby, affording counsel to the abbess Elfleda, and was buried in the church of St. Peter.[2] It is clear, therefore, that priests were admitted to the monastery, although it seems likely that the first six of these seven may merely have received their early education, like the boy who is mentioned at Barking, among the nuns. The famous case of Cædmon shows us, however, that there was a distinction between monks and lay-brothers at Whitby. When he received his gift of song he was a lay-servant in the guest-house and stable, under the direction of the steward of the monastery; and it was not until his gift had been proved that he took the regular habit and joined the monks of the house. There is no indication that this change of life implied the necessity of taking orders. The story of his death shows the brethren occupied in chanting the hours, as he died shortly before they went to mattins.[3] The brethren of Whitby brought the news of St. Hilda's death to the daughter-house of Hackness. Here we have mention of the dormitory of the sisters and of a special habitation set apart for the *conversæ*, who were the probationers of the house; but of brethren at Hackness there is no record.[4]

At Coldingham in Berwickshire, under the rule of St. Ebba, the double life, upon the evidence of the brother Adamnan, was not a striking success. His warning, before the destruction of the monastery by fire, implies that the brothers and sisters lived in separate *domunculæ* or cells, each in his or her own, according to the primitive Celtic pattern, and that there were separate oratories and studies. He himself was a Scot—*i.e.*, an Irishman—by birth, and his own practice in the monastery was more like that of an Eastern hermit or a Carthusian of later times than of a Benedictine. Bede's information about Coldingham was gathered from a priest of the community named Eadgils, who, after the fire, migrated to Wearmouth.[5]

In 697, according to the chronicler known as Florence of Worcester, St. Guthlac received the tonsure and became a monk under the rule of the abbess Ælfthryth at Repton in Derbyshire. Wenlock in Shropshire, founded by St. Milburga, a granddaughter of Penda, was also double; the visions of a monk who died there were related to St. Boniface by Hildelitha, abbess of

[1] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 23. [2] *Ibid.*, iv. 26.
[3] *Ibid.*, iv. 24. [4] *Ibid.*, iv. 23. [5] *Ibid.*, iv. 25.

Barking, and were told by him in a letter to St. Eadburga, abbess of Minster in Thanet.[1] The great abbey founded by St. Cuthburga at Wimborne in Dorset appears to have contained brethren as well as sisters; but here it is certain that the nuns greatly preponderated in number, and the constitution, which included a provost (*preposita*) and dean (*decana*), chosen from among the nuns,[2] closely resembled that of several of the "noble chapters" of ladies which survived in the northern and eastern parts of France until the end of the eighteenth century, with canon-chaplains and lay-officers attached to them.

To repeat the conclusion already suggested, it is difficult to regard these religious houses in general as anything but nunneries in connection with which there were communities of brethren to do such work and perform such services as the nuns could not do or perform for themselves. Here and there, as at Whitby and in the Celtic constitution of Coldingham, some of the brethren, other than priests, may have devoted themselves to the life of contemplation; and in all, doubtless, the brethren had their services at stated hours in their own churches or oratories. But it is noticeable that, when St. Guthlac made up his mind to a life of devout meditation, he left the community at Repton and sought the seclusion of a lonely island in the Fens. Further, there seems to be no reason, if we are to regard these houses as convents of monks and nuns, living separately but on an equal footing in matters of religion, why we should not find them under the presidency of an abbot. There is, however, with one possible exception, no such recorded example;[3] and if such a type of community was recognised, it seems unlikely that St. Earconwald would have founded separate convents for himself and his sister, instead of uniting them into one in his first foundation of Chertsey. Finally, we may make the mistake of associating some of these houses too closely with famous monasteries which afterwards arose on or near their sites. The later abbey and cathedral priory of Ely, the abbey of Whitby, the priories of Repton and Wenlock, retained only the memories of their Anglian and Mercian predecessors. The Danish invasions formed a gap of a century in the history of Ely; in the other cases the gap is still wider, and the monasteries of the later

[1] Summarised by Howorth, *The Golden Days of the Early English Church*, iii. 211-212; from *M.G.H.*, Ap. III., 252-257.

[2] *Ibid.*, iii. 236. Howorth mistranslates *decana* as "deaconess."

[3] At St. Albans, early in the ninth century, a nunnery was established in the near neighbourhood of the convent. The nuns were removed by Abbot Walnoth, for the sake of better discipline, into the almonry, and appear to have attended service in the abbey church. Possibly this community may have been the original germ of the nunnery of Sopwell (see Rushbrook Williams, L. F., *Hist. of the Abbey of St. Alban*, pp. 20, 21, 59).

period were entirely new foundations upon a different footing. The monks and canons of an age of more fully organised monasticism bear no analogy to the brethren who lived in dependence upon the nuns of the earlier houses. The monasticism of the pre-Danish period was a plant of sporadic growth, fostered, as at Whitby, under contending influences; we can say no more of such early communities than that they were associations of persons desirous of leading a religious life, but belonging to no recognised order. Among them, such communities as St. Augustine introduced in Kent or St. Benet Biscop founded at Wearmouth and Jarrow stand out as exceptional and even exotic. Even St. Wilfrid's monasteries at Ripon and Hexham seem to bear little relation to the monasteries of a later day; they contain rather the germs of chapters of secular canons, and the same may be true of St. John's early minster at Beverley.[1] It was not until the last quarter of the tenth century, under the protection of such prelates as Odo, Dunstan, Oswald, and Ethelwold, that the Benedictine rule became generally established in England.

Double monasteries played no part in the monastic revival of the tenth century. It is possible that in the arrangements of the nunneries of the dioceses of Salisbury and Winchester we may trace the normal pattern of the late Saxon nunnery, a body of nuns with secular chaplains who obtained a considerable stake in the property of the house. It is rather curious, while, on the other hand, it is significant of the breach of historic continuity already noted, that the period which followed the Danish wars saw no revival of the once flourishing nunnery of Wimborne: the germ of the present minster of Wimborne was a church of secular canons. Neither then nor in later days was the number of nunneries in Wessex large. On the other hand, the Benedictine nunneries retained an importance throughout the Middle Ages which no other English nunneries, with the exception of Barking, can be said to have attained. Moreover, if the number of the Wessex houses in Saxon times was not great, it was entirely out of proportion to the rareness of nunneries in other parts of England. This was only natural during a period of war and tumult, when, outside the small area which was secure from the Danish marauders, the life of religious communities had practically ceased. During the period of the rise of Wessex under Alfred, Shaftesbury Abbey in Dorset was founded. The permanent foundation of the abbey of Wilton, originally founded in

[1] As regards Ripon see the present writer's conclusions in *V. C. H. Yorks.* iii. 368; there is every probability that Wilfrid's monastery at Hexham was a similar establishment. For the origin of Beverley see *ibid.*, 353, and *Beverley Chapter Act Book*, ed. Leach, A. F. (Surt. Soc.), I., pp. xv-xix.

the early part of the ninth century, is attributed to Alfred; and Nunnaminster, the abbey of St. Mary at Winchester, was founded by his wife Ealhswith about 900. His son, Edward the elder, is credited with the first foundation of Romsey Abbey; but the permanent settlement here was the work of Edgar the Peaceful, whose widow Elfrida (Ælfthryth) was the foundress of Wherwell Abbey in Hampshire and the nunnery of Amesbury. These last three, of which Amesbury was in later times of small importance, and was reconstituted in 1177 as a priory of Fontevrault, belong to the epoch of peace and religious revival. But the state of England was still uncertain, and, outside the sphere of influence of Winchester, there was little security for widows and virgins who wished to devote themselves to God. While great monasteries of men were being founded or reconstituted in the fenland, in the Severn valley, and in the flats of Somerset, the number of nunneries outside the old kingdom of Wessex was extremely small. Barking, refounded by Edgar; Chatteris in Cambridgeshire, not far from the great abbey of Ramsey; and King Edmund's foundation of Malling in Kent, practically complete the tale of those of which we can speak with certainty.

Shaftesbury, Wilton, and St. Mary's at Winchester remained throughout the Middle Ages the premier nunneries of England, and Romsey and Wherwell were little inferior in importance. When, during the twelfth century, nunneries were founded throughout England in considerable numbers, these old-established houses found no rivals in their own neighbourhood. It was not till the thirteenth century that Cistercian nuns were established at Tarrant in Dorset and Austin nuns at Lacock in Wiltshire: the only other nunnery in the three counties was the small Cistercian house at Wintney in Hampshire. Primarily, Shaftesbury and its sister houses carried on the tradition of the seventh-century monasteries of royal and noble virgins. They were royal foundations for highly born women, whose nursing fathers and mothers were kings and queens. But the subsidiary communities of priests and brethren seem to have found no place in them. Of their early constitution little or nothing can be said; but there is no reason to doubt that the arrangements which existed in later days were of early origin, although they may not have been systematised in the form in which we know them until after the Norman Conquest. So far as we can tell, the actual labour of the nuns in the offices of the monasteries was largely supplemented, as in most Benedictine houses of the Middle Ages, by lay-servants, men and women. The chaplains of the monastery were also seculars; but while, in most English nunneries these appear to have been merely "conducts," priests employed

for a salary at the pleasure of the convent, the chaplains in the particular houses in question were canons of the nunnery, holding freehold benefices in the shape of prebends derived from localised portions of the convent estates, presented by the abbess and convent, or by the Crown during a vacancy, and instituted by the diocesan bishop.

A close counterpart to this provision for the services of the convent is found in the canonries which, until the time of the French Revolution, existed in connection with certain chapters of noble ladies in Franche-Comté and Lorraine. These chapters, owing their origin, at dates which may for the most part be fixed in the ninth and tenth centuries, to kings and members of princely families, belonged to various orders: some became secularised in the eighteenth century, when the constitution of all had been greatly relaxed, while others had been secular from a much earlier period. The great collegiate church of Remiremont, in the diocese of Saint-Dié, founded for a large body of canonesses, was served by ten *chanoines-curés*, with three priests and several other chaplains. The head canon was the *écoltâre* (*scholasticus*) or chancellor of the church, who was elected by vote of the abbess or canonesses: the abbess and canonesses held all the male prebends in their collation.[1] At Bouxières-les-Dames, in the diocese of Nancy, there were three *aumôniers-curés*, nominated by the abbess and chapter; and at Poussay, in the diocese of Toul, there were three *chanoines-curés* and two priests with the offices of sacrist and sub-sacrist, similarly nominated. Whether these gentlemen were continually resident does not appear, but it is likely at any rate that their residence was extremely fitful, and that at Remiremont, for example, the service of the church was left to the subordinate body of priests. In all the three cases mentioned the chapters were composed of secular ladies, who although under the obligation to remain unmarried or widows while holding prebends, probably were as little resident themselves as the majority of canons in an ordinary secular chapter, and were bound to their churches by similar ties to those which bound the body of canonesses subsidiary to the chapter of the cathedral church of Rouen.

To return to the English abbey churches, the canons' prebends consisted for the most part in the revenues of churches appropriated at an early date to the convents. As in the case of churches appropriated to prebends in cathedral churches, the prebendaries were the sinecure rectors of these parish churches,

[1] The facts relating to this and the other French houses are taken from *La France Ecclésiastique*, 1785, a clergy list in which the constitution of these chapters is carefully described (see also Appendices IX. and XVI.).

the cure of souls being served by vicars presented by them. In each of the abbey churches of Shaftesbury, Winchester, and Wherwell, there were four canons. The prebends attached to the canonries of Shaftesbury were Fontmell, Gillingham, and Iwerne in Dorset, and Liddington in Wiltshire. The Winchester prebends were Itchen Abbas and Leckford in Hampshire, Allcannings and Urchfont in Wiltshire. At Wherwell the prebends were Goodworth, Middleton, Longparish, and Wherwell in Hampshire, and Bathwick in Somerset. At Wilton there were also four canonries, but the names of three prebends only—viz., Chalke, South Newton, and Stanton St. Bernard, all in Wiltshire—are found with any regularity. The fourth prebend, however, was formed by the union of the churches of North Newnton and West Knoyle, in parts of Wiltshire very remote from each other. The Romsey prebends appear, from the Ecclesiastical Taxation of 1291, to have consisted of three portions arising in the first instance out of the fruits of the parish church. One of these portions belonged to the abbess. The remaining two were divided among two canons, one of whom was known as the sacrist, while the other, whose third part of the tithe of Romsey was augmented by the great tithes of Timsbury in Hampshire and Imber in Wiltshire, was the prebendary of Timsbury or St. Lawrence.[1]

The writer of the article on Romsey Abbey in the *Victoria History of Hampshire* defines these canonries in nunneries as intended for "chaplains, as well as priests who could undertake the management of temporalities."[2] The second of these reasons may have had something to do with their appointment in the first instance. In process of time, however, and certainly as early as the thirteenth century, it became the custom to present to the prebends, just as to the rectories of unappropriated churches in the gift of any monastery, non-resident clerks who, owing to their habitual employment in the service of the Crown or leading noblemen, could neither act personally as chaplains nor take any constant part in the oversight of temporal matters, but could doubtless be a help to the convents in the constant litigation which was inseparable from the possession of large estates in the Middle Ages. Some of the prebends were valuable pieces of preferment, and of these the Crown frequently claimed and obtained the advowson on various grounds, with the profit

[1] *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* (Record Comm.), p. 210.

[2] *V. C. H. Hants*, ii. 122-123. In the case of Remiremont, already mentioned, the title of *scholasticus*, given to the head canon, was practically equivalent to *cancellarius*, although it implied another side of the chancellor's office. As chancellor, one of the duties of the *scholasticus* would be to keep the great seal of the chapter.

to itself which accrued from the vacancy and disposal of rich benefices. The list of eminent clerks who held nunnery prebends with other cures and sinecures is long and interesting. Thus, for example, William Greenfield, afterwards Archbishop of York, held Gillingham prebend in Shaftesbury in 1297.[1] This was the best prebend in the church, taxed on an assessment of 45 marks a year.[2] Among the numerous benefices, including an archdeaconry and nine prebends, which William of Wykeham held in 1366, when certificates of the pluralities held by clerks in the province of Canterbury were returned into the chancery of Urban VI., were Iwerne prebend in Shaftesbury, taxed at 30, and Wherwell in Wherwell, taxed at 60 marks.[3] In the same year Roger Holm, who resided on his prebend of Kentish Town in St. Paul's and was, with other preferments, a canon of Salisbury, was returned as prebendary of Fontmell in Shaftesbury, taxed at 35 marks, and of Urchfont in Winchester, taxed at 20 marks,[4] although, from another certificate, it seems that either Urchfont had been divided into two portions or there were two claimants to it.[5] The most interesting example of preferment in this connection is that of John Chitterne, a Wiltshire clerk whose business capacity was probably much in excess of the small fame he has left behind him. This man, who was archdeacon of Wilts from 1407 to 1418 and of Salisbury in 1418-19, and at various times obtained prebends in Salisbury, Chichester, Hereford, and St. Paul's Cathedrals, and in the collegiate church of Heytesbury, was in 1399 a canon of three nunnery churches simultaneously, holding South Newton prebend in Wilton, Goodworth in Wherwell, and Itchen in Winchester.[6] In 1402 he became prebendary of Urchfont in Winchester, and seems to have retained Itchen, a prebend of small worth, for about a year with it.[7] Subsequently he quitted or exchanged all these prebends; for in 1414 we find him holding Leckford in Winchester, Iwerne in Shaftesbury, and the Timsbury portion, taxed at 43 marks, in Romsey.[8] Thus, during his career he was a canon of all five churches, and in one was prebendary successively of

[1] *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1292-1301, p. 273.

[2] For the values of the Shaftesbury prebends, see *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, pp. 177, 178.

[3] *Lambeth Reg., Langham*, fol. 12*d*. He held both by Crown presentations (see *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1361-1364, pp. 127, 241).

[4] *Lambeth Reg., Langham*, fol. 17*d*.

[5] *Ibid.*, fol. 22. It is taxed, however, at 18 marks instead of 20 in this case.

[6] *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1399-1401, p. 5.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1401-1405, p. 174; *cf.* pp. 225, 330.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1413-1416, p. 183. For Chitterne's other preferments, *cf.* the references above and see Le Neve, *Fasti*, i. 504; ii. 451; Jones, *Fasti Eccl. Sar.*, 160, 172, 374, 395; Hennessy, *Nov. Rep.*, note *r* 90.

three out of four prebends. It may also be noted that these prebends were constantly subject to the traffic which reached such proportions in the second half of the fourteenth century, and called forth Archbishop Courtenay's severe denunciation of the benefice-brokers, accursed partakers of the guilt of Gehazi and Simon Magus, commonly called "Chopchirches."[1] Chitterne quitted Itchen prebend in Winchester and obtained Goodworth in Wherwell by exchange;[2] and between November, 1376, and September, 1387, Leckford prebend in Winchester changed hands no less than five times by a series of exchanges, among the benefices for which it was bartered being prebends in Wells and the collegiate churches of Auckland and Southwell.[3]

Meanwhile, the convent churches were probably served by hired chaplains, of whom there were always many ready to accept service for a trifling stipend. Their pay, like that of the vicars-choral in a cathedral church, would devolve legally on the canons whose places they supplied. John Corf, canon of Wells, one of the prebendaries of Urchfont in 1366, paid 20s. a year to a chaplain in the monastery.[4] The fact that in the same year the prebendary of Timsbury paid 8 marks yearly, as a charge on his prebend, to the abbess and convent of Romsey,[5] indicates that the normal custom may have been to pay the monastery a sum proportionate to the value of the prebend, out of which the abbess and convent found chaplains for themselves: 8 marks cover the yearly fee of an ordinary stipendiary priest. On the other hand, Itchen prebend in Winchester was worth only 5 marks; and, although its holder in 1366 was also rector of a church in Somerset, the abbess and convent paid him a yearly augmentation of 40s. until they could present him to a better benefice.[6] On the whole, then, if the wealthier prebends were taxed with stipendiary payments, we may conclude that the chaplains who actually officiated in the abbey churches were hired and paid directly by the community itself.[7]

In some churches, however, there were clerks whose salaries were quite distinct from the endowments of the canonries. Thus, at Wilton a deacon and epistoler were maintained on small annual salaries,[8] and at Shaftesbury the deacon at the high-altar

[1] See mandate printed by Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 215-217.
[2] *Winchester Reg., Wykeham*, ed. Kirby (Hants Record Soc.), ii. 195-196.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 92, 99, 126, 164.
[4] *Lambeth Reg., Langham*, fol. 22.
[5] *Ibid.*, fol. 19.
[6] *Ibid.*, fol. 31.
[7] The position of chaplain in many places implied the grant of a corrody. *Cf., e.g.*, the *presbyters' corrediani* at Sinningthwaite, Yorks, in 1319 (*V.C.H. Yorks*, ii. 177).
[8] *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (Record Comm.), ii. 99. The deacon had a corrody.

seems to have held his office as a freehold at the presentation of the abbess.[1] It is not unlikely that the offices of deacon and epistoler existed in all five monasteries. These were places which could not be supplied by nuns; the chaplains probably took their turns in church week and week about, and would seldom be all in church at the same time; and the chantry priests would not always be available in time of High Mass. From the nature of his office we may assume that the holder of the sacrist's prebend at Romsey was bound to residence, and if so, he would be the natural celebrant, in person or by deputy, at the high-altar. In this context it is interesting to notice that there were attached to the nunnery of Malling in Kent, of the foundation of which mention has been made, two secular prebends known as the prebends of *magna missa maioris altaris* and *alta missa*. The revenues were not large, and they appear to have been filled in course of time by non-residents;[2] but the special endowment of clerks to celebrate at the high-altar in this case confirms the theory that nunnery prebends were originally intended for the maintenance of resident chaplains, and that the reasons which led to their falling into the hands of non-residents and pluralists were the rise in value of individual endowments and the consequent readiness of the Crown, as patron of the monasteries, to discover in them sources of income for clerks in high office.

The sacrist of Shaftesbury Abbey was a clerical officer who held no prebend or specified endowment, but was appointed and dismissed at the abbess's pleasure. He acted as the convent's bailiff and receiver, the sum which passed through his hands being reckoned in 1535 to average £1,166 8s. 9d. yearly. From these revenues he was allowed to deduct yearly sums spent in the repair of the church, in bread, wine, wax, and oil for Divine service, and in the payment of divers priests celebrating in the church.[3] This last item would cover the stipends of the hired chaplains as well as of chantry priests who were merely stipendiaries, as distinct from those whose chantries were permanently endowed. But as perpetual chantries in monastic churches were invariably granted by the founders to the convents in trusteeship, the payment of the entire body of priests probably came through the sacrist's hands. The same duties may have been performed by the sacrist of Romsey, who, however, was, as has been said, a canon of the church. While, in most

[1] *V. C. H. Dorset*, ii. 76.

[2] *Lambeth Reg., Langham, ff.* 9, 24. The prebends were assessed at 15 marks each. In 1366 one of the canons seems to have been resident, the other not.

[3] *Val. Eccl.*, i. 280.

mediæval nunneries, the office of bursar or receiver, as numerous injunctions show, was held by two nuns jointly, and those of sacrist and warden of the fabric or clerk of the works were entrusted to individual nuns, we find all these offices combined at Shaftesbury in the person of a secular clerk external to the foundation.

In 1535 the value of the Shaftesbury prebends had sunk below their high assessment in 1291, the prebend of Gillingham being reckoned only at £2 14s. annually.[1] The others, allowing for the change in the value of money in the interval, more or less preserved their value. Wherwell prebend, for example, was assessed at £44 11s. net, and was held by Richard Parkhurst,[2] who in 1542 was appointed one of the original prebendaries in Canterbury Cathedral.[3] Timsbury prebend in Romsey, with its dependence of Imber, was worth some £53 net; its holder was "Dr. Nicholas," an Italian.[4] Itchen prebend in Winchester was still but a poor thing, worth only £4 6s. 8d.; and Roger Stokesley, the prebendary, derived a better income from three simultaneous cures of souls in Hampshire.[5] The endowment of South Newton prebend in Wilton is given in detail, and the record indicates that it had become merged in the common possessions of the abbey, and was no longer held by an individual incumbent. The gross income of £28 3s. 4d. was derived from the farm of the rectory of South Newton and Stowford, with a virgate of land, a portion of the great tithe of Berwick St. James, various rents in Tilshead, Ugford, Stokendon, Wishford, Chilhampton, and Burdonstall, and a pension from the rector of Great Wishford. The reprises, consisting in the usual payments consequent upon the appropriation of a parish church, reduced the annual revenue to £23 19s. 2d. net.[6]

In tracing the character and history of the male element found in connection with the royal nunneries of Wessex, we have travelled far from the Saxon period. It now remains to survey the history of this element in the nunneries founded after the Norman Conquest. None of these, although a few, such as Elstow and Godstow, obtained a considerable reputation and, as nunneries went, were well-to-do, approached the importance and wealth of Shaftesbury, Barking, and Wilton. Most of them were small and poor. In 1535, shortly before the Suppression,[7] only two nunneries—Syon, of which more hereafter, and Shaftesbury—had net revenues exceeding £1,000 a year. Barking came next, with £852; then Wilton, with £601; Ames-

[1] *Val. Eccl.*, 289. [2] *Ibid.*, ii. 7. [3] Le Neve, *Fasti*, i. 50.
[4] *Val. Eccl.*, ii. 17, 144. [5] *Ibid.*, ii.; *cf.* pp. 9, 17, 23.
[6] *Ibid.*, 109. [7] Details from *Val. Eccl.*, *passim*.

bury, with £496; Romsey, with £393. Four others, including Wherwell and Dartford, had £300 to £400; seven, including Malling, Elstow, and Godstow, had £200 to £300. St. Mary's Winchester, and four others had from £150 to £200. Only six more exceeded £100. To estimate the proportion of the normal revenues of a nunnery to those of a house of monks or canons, we may take the three largest English dioceses, York, Lincoln, and Lichfield. In 1535, 60 per cent. of the male convents of Lichfield Diocese had incomes of over £100, as compared with 10 per cent. of the nunneries; in Lincoln Diocese 70 as compared with 20 per cent.; in York Diocese, one of those in which nunneries were most abundant, the percentage for male convents was 74, while no single nunnery had so much as £100 a year. It is to be noted also that, out of the twenty-eight nunneries whose revenues exceeded £100, only seven, apart from three in London, were north of the Thames. In districts where nunneries were most plentiful, they were also most poor. It may be added that from these calculations Gilbertine houses have been omitted for obvious reasons.

There could, therefore, be no elaborate provision for services in such houses. Their churches were usually of the most simple plan—aisleless buildings such as those at Burnham and Lacock, or, as at St. Helen's in London, an aisle parallel to the aisle set apart for parochial services. For the ordinary canonical hours the nuns themselves were sufficient.[1] The precentress had the direction of the services, nuns were deputed, as at Wherwell,[2] to rule the quire, and the reading of the lessons was shared among the nuns. Information on this head is scanty; but, so far as the present writer knows, there is no indication that on these occasions the presence of a male chaplain was required, at any rate in the daily course of things. Priests, however, were necessary for the celebration of Mass and for hearing the private confessions of the abbess and nuns; and for these purposes there can be no doubt that secular chaplains were hired from the neighbourhood and provided with a stipend or a corrody by the convent. Such was Henry, the chaplain of Gracedieu Priory in Leicestershire, whose reputation in the neighbouring town of Loughborough and irreverence at the altar were subjects of complaint in 1440-41.[3] Whether these priests were lodged within the precincts or not is a matter of doubt: episcopal injunctions prohibiting the access of men, secular or religious, to

[1] See, *e.g.*, the directions in the *Institutiones Sancti Gilberti*, printed in *Monasticon* vi. (2), for the services of the nuns of the order of Sempringham.

[2] *Litteræ Joannis Peckham* (Rolls Ser.), i. 652.

[3] *Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln*, ed. Thompson (Lincoln Record Soc.), ii. 123.

the nuns' cloister are common,[1] and would debar the chaplains from any unrestrained share in the life of the house. Mr. Harold Brakspear, however, has with good reason identified a room on the ground-floor of the western cloister range at Lacock, closely adjoining the church, as set apart for the chaplain or chaplains; and its position and arrangements with regard to the cloister are not out of keeping with such injunctions.[2] At Barking in 1279 there was certainly a body of chaplains attached to the church, with rooms in the precincts. They had fallen into the strange custom, after officiating at the office of the dead, probably at funerals and on obit-days, of passing through the cloister to the parlour and refreshing themselves after their labours by drinking out of chalices in a mixed company. Archbishop Peckham commanded them henceforward, if they needed drink, to have it supplied them by the cellaress in the house of the principal priest.[3] Another of their customs which Peckham strongly reprehended was that they kept the reserved Sacrament in their *cubicula* or cells, in order to be ready to answer the calls of the sick parishioners of the abbey liberty without entering the enclosure of the nuns. The archbishop ordered that the consecrated species should be kept in a hallowed place or oratory always accessible to the priests.[4] This passage, which incidentally forms a valuable comment on the mediæval view of reservation implied in Peckham's constitution *Dignissimum*, gives us the picture of a body of convent chaplains housed in separate apartments in a part of the monastery from which it is evident that access to the nuns' cloister and quire, after the doors were shut at night, was a troublesome matter. But Barking was, as we have seen, a great nunnery of the Shaftesbury *genus ;* and few nunneries could afford to maintain a staff of resident chaplains, at any rate on the scale which Peckham's injunctions suggest.

It was unquestionably the need of resident priests, and the unsatisfactory nature of their casual services in small nunneries, which kept alive the idea of the double monastery which included men as well as women. This idea was part of the original scheme of the congregation of Austin canons whose mother-house was Arrouaise in the diocese of Arras.[5] It was contemplated by St. Norbert in the establishment of the order of Prémontré.[6]

[1] See *Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln*, i. 42, 51, etc.

[2] *Archæologia*, lvii., pp. 125-138.

[3] The phrase *sacerdos principalis* points to a body of canon-chaplains under a president like the *scholasticus* at Remiremont.

[4] *Litteræ Joannis Peckham*, i. 82, 83.

[5] See the account of Bourne Abbey in *V. C. H. Lincs*, ii.

[6] See Gasquet, *Collectanea Anglo-Præmonstratensia*, i., Introd.

But the only order in which its practical working had permanent success was the English order of Sempringham, founded by St. Gilbert. The general features of this order are well known. Each house consisted of a convent of canons who were the chaplains of a convent of nuns following the Cistercian rule. Each sex had its own cloister; a passage between the cloisters was barred in the middle by a partition with a turning hatch, through which necessary communications could be made, under strict regulations, between the nuns and canons. The church was accessible from both cloisters; but the two quires were divided from each other by a wall running the length of the church, and the founder's rule gave minute precautions for the conduct of celebrations by the canons at the nuns' altar and for the processions of the joint community. There is little need to say more of the arrangements of the order, as the rule, printed in full in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*,[1] has been described by Miss Rose Graham in an admirable volume,[2] and the plan of a Gilbertine house has been fully recovered by Sir William Hope, and receives illustration in his account of his excavations at Watton Priory.[3] It is important, however, to notice that, for the labour of each monastery, the founder, following a custom systematised by the Cistercians, as well as by the Benedictine reforms of Thiron and Savigny, laid down rules for the admission of lay brethren and sisters, *conversi* and *conversæ*, into the double community.

St. Gilbert's rule was originally designed to meet the needs of a body of nuns under his direction who had sought affiliation to the Cistercian order and had been refused. It never spread widely beyond a certain district. Apart from two houses in Cambridgeshire and two in Wiltshire, it was confined to the dioceses of Lincoln and York, and nearly half its monasteries were in Lincolnshire alone, while a third of the rest were in Yorkshire. It is precisely in this district that we find houses of Cistercian nuns a common feature. In Lincolnshire and Yorkshire there were twice as many such houses as in the rest of England; in Yorkshire alone there were eleven, more than a third of the total number. Further, the only two houses of Premonstratensian nuns, Irford and Brodholme, were in the same neighbourhood—Irford in the Lincolnshire wolds near Market Rasen, and Brodholme on the boundary of Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. These Cistercian houses were small and obscure; the only one in England which could take rank with

[1] Vol. vi. (2), introd. to Gilbertine section, pp. xxix-xcvii.
[2] *St. Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines*, 1902.
[3] See *Archæol. Journal*, lviii.; plan reproduced in Gasquet, *English Monastic Life*, p. 34.

the greater nunneries was the famous house of Tarrant in Dorset, for which it has been conjectured that the *Ancren Riwle* was compiled;[1] and this, though isolated from the houses within what may be called the Gilbertine sphere, was in a diocese where, in Wiltshire, the Gilbertine order had made some little progress. These small nunneries cannot be regarded as belonging in any formal sense to the Cistercian order: some of them, indeed, are called indifferently Benedictine or Cistercian houses.[2] They were independent communities, founded irrespectively of the Cistercian scheme of affiliation which bound each abbey to its parent, but taking the Cistercian rule as the guide of their common life. They enjoyed none of the special Cistercian privileges, but were under the control and inspection of the diocesan bishop. They have very little history, apart from the records of episcopal visitations and injunctions; and in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they suffered greatly from financial depression and its fatal consequences to the strict order required by the religious life.

The geographical distribution of the Cistercian nunneries suggests that their foundation and growth in the middle of the twelfth century were due to the encouragement afforded to nuns by the order of Sempringham. It is possible that in some cases the founders may have had the original intention of uniting them to that order, and that such instances may be regarded as examples of Gilbertine monasteries *manqués*. The same thing may be said of the small Benedictine nunneries of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, from which it is hard to distinguish them in any way. All these nunneries consisted of a body of nuns ruled by a prioress and supplemented by lay-sisters. But one curious feature is found in them which suggests Gilbertine influence. In addition to the lay-sisters, there appear to have been, in some nunneries at least, lay-brothers, *conversi*. Several mentions of these are found in the York archiepiscopal registers, in connection with the Benedictine nunneries of Arden, Nunburnholme, Nunkeeling, Thicket, Yedingham, and Marrick, and the Cistercian nunneries of Esholt, Hampole, Rosedale, Sinningthwaite, and Swine.[3] They also are found occasionally in some of the nunneries of Lincoln Diocese, although here the evidence is less plentiful.[4] The general tendency of such passages goes

[1] Modern investigation tends to the theory that this work was composed for the nunnery of Kilburn in Middlesex, which was dependent upon Westminster Abbey.

[2] See two examples cited hereafter.

[3] *V. C. H. Yorks*, iii. 113, 119, 120, 124, 127, 161, 163, 174, 175, 176, 179, 180, 181.

[4] The late J. T. Micklethwaite noticed their occurrence at Heynings.

A MAIDEN'S PILGRIMAGE AFTER TRUTH.

Her communion, and reception into a convent. The abbess or prioress receives her, crozier in hand.

From a late 15th century tapestry in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.

[*Facing p.* 160.

to prove that their presence was regarded as an anomaly. The nuns of Sinningthwaite had a privilege from Pope Alexander III. to admit *conversi ;* but early in the fourteenth century the archbishops of York frequently included *conversi* with boarders and holders of corrodies, forbidding their reception into nunneries without special licence. In one case, at Swine, they may have been upon the original foundation, for reasons noted in the next paragraph. Lay men-servants were to some extent necessary for the harder work of a nunnery, apart from work in the fields. Peckham recognised this necessity when he gave a cautious permission for the employment of workmen in the cloister at Barking for such tasks as were beyond the capacity of the nuns.[1] In theory it was desirable that such workmen, if attached to nunneries, should be men who had found their vocation in the religious life; and, in a district where the double system had been introduced with success, and where the Cistercian abbeys, in the century which witnessed their marvellous development, can hardly have found room for all the unlettered men who sought admission as *conversi*, it is not unnatural that some of these aspirants found a home in the precincts of nunneries, especially of those which had adopted the Cistercian rule. After the check put upon their reception by Archbishops Greenfield and Melton, they certainly became rarer; and it is probable that the Great Pestilence of 1349, which practically put an end to the inclusion of *conversi* in Cistercian abbeys, marks their final disappearance from nunneries as well.

Swine, although reckoned as a house of Cistercian nuns, was certainly founded as a double monastery, with its complement of canons and *conversi ;* but here, while the system lasted, the evidence goes to prove that the canons were Premonstratensians, and that the house was connected with that order and not with Sempringham.[2] Similarly, a double house was founded for Austin canons and nuns at Marton in the forest of Galtres, much about the same period as Swine. While Swine, however, remained a double monastery for more than a century, the community at Marton was broken up within fifteen years, and the nuns settled at Moxby, in the immediate neighbourhood.[3] These instances show how the double ideal was welcomed in the north-east of England, and it is unquestionable that the attempt to graft it upon other orders was due in this neighbourhood to the example of Sempringham.

It was frequently found desirable to place the administration of the temporalities of nunneries in the hands of a male official,

[1] *Litteræ Joannis Peckham*, i. 84.
[2] *V. C. H. Yorks*, iii. 178, 179.
[3] *Ibid.*, 223, 239.

usually a religious from a monastery of the same order, who was known as the master, and sometimes as the prior, of the house. Sometimes these appointments were permanent. After the canons had disappeared from the economy of Swine, a Premonstratensian master was still appointed.[1] Examples of this kind are numerous. The deputation of such officials, who corresponded fairly closely to the sacrist whom we have seen holding office at the pleasure of the abbess of Shaftesbury, was generally claimed by the diocesan bishop, with the consent of the religious houses from which they were drawn. At St. Michael's, Stamford, which lay within the soke of Peterborough and was founded by Abbot Waterville in the second half of the twelfth century, the master was a monk deputed by the abbot and convent;[2] and the same arrangement prevailed to a late period in the small communities of women which were dependencies of St. Albans Abbey.[3] The connection between Peterborough and St. Michael's, Stamford, was much less close in the late Middle Ages, when the nuns appear to have been free to manage their own affairs. It is curious to notice that in one place St. Michael's is referred to as a Cistercian house.[4] The same ambiguity is noticeable at Nunappleton in Yorkshire.[5] In both cases the confusion may be due to a slip of the pen; but that such a mistake could be made is a hint that there was little but a nominal distinction to differentiate convents of the various orders of nuns.

It should be noted that in the later Middle Ages the appointment of masters of nunneries was everywhere less usual. The temporalities were generally managed by the prioress and the two treasurers or bursars whom she was constantly ordered to appoint to help her; and the cellaress was entrusted with most of the communication with the outer world.[6] It is almost needless to say that the actual oversight of outlying estates was committed to male stewards and bailiffs, who were doubtless responsible for the financial straits to which the nunneries of the fifteenth century were reduced. Such officials certainly did

[1] *V. C. H. Yorks*, i i. 180. Most of the Yorkshire nunneries were under masters at one time or other. See references already given.

[2] See *V. C. H. Northants*, ii. 98.

[3] Viz., Sopwell, founded *c.* 1140, and St. Mary of the Meadows, founded for infirm nuns in 1203. See reference to *Chron. Joan. Amundesham* below, where a small community of women at St. German's Chapel is mentioned.

[4] The reference is in Bishop Alnwick's *Visitations*, now being edited for the Lincoln Record Society.

[5] *V. C. H. Yorks*, iii. 171.

[6] That such communication occasionally led to irregularity is witnessed by the case of the nun of Catesby, appointed as receiver of the nunnery, who, on a visit to Northampton, spent two evenings in two different friaries, dancing and playing the lute till midnight. (*Lincoln Visitations*, ii. 50.)

much to waste the goods of the monasteries generally in their own interests.

The last attempt at the establishment of a double monastery in England resulted in the foundation by Henry V. of the "holy house of Syon," which, enriched with the possessions of alien priories, was at the Suppression by far the richest nunnery in England, and rivalled the endowments of such famous monasteries as Peterborough and Ramsey. It belonged to the Bridgetine order, which had sprung up in Sweden during the fourteenth century, for nuns living under the rule of St. Austin. The preamble of the foundation charter of the abbey of St. Saviour and St. Bridget of Syon defines its constitution. It was founded as a monastery of the order of St. Austin, consisting of sixty nuns or sisters, of whom one was to be abbess, and of twenty-five men of religion, of whom thirteen were to be priests, four deacons, and eight laymen. One of the priests, called the confessor, was to be over the rest, "by the which priests the abbess and nuns or sisters for the time being may be refreshed by the food of hearing Divine service and of healthful preaching and teaching, and helped in the occasions and particulars of their spiritual needs." The nuns were housed in their own close (*clausum*), the brethren in their own court (*curia*), which implies that the male habitations were built, like the houses of canons in a cathedral close, round the outer court of the monastery, while the nuns' "close," whether it took the form of a regular cloister or was more like a Continental *béguinage*, occupied the inner precinct.[1] The first confessor, William Alnwick, who has been quite wrongly identified with the bishop of Lincoln of the same name, appears to be the same man as the "recluse monk of Westminster" who for a short time had directed the devotions of one of the small nunneries at St. Albans.[2] It will be seen that this noble establishment, with its staff of priests, deacons, and lay-brothers, bore a strong superficial likeness to the other double houses of which mention has been already made. It represents a final effort at the realisation of an ideal which was constantly recurring to devout minds during the Middle Ages, in spite of practical drawbacks. That ideal was not the co-ordination of the sexes in one house as the normal feature of the monastic life. It was the provision for communities of nuns of a permanent staff of clergy vowed to the religious life, who could perform for the sisters services from the performance of which they themselves were debarred, and of lay-brothers who, while devoted to religious observances, could do work for which

[1] *Monasticon*, vi. (i.), 542.
[2] *Chron. Joan. Amundesham* (Rolls Ser.), i. 27.

the nuns were physically unfitted. From the Saxon monasteries onwards, the abbess or prioress is recognised as the head of the administration, the nuns as the privileged persons for whom the monastery exists; the male element is intended merely to fulfil the necessary duties for which the inmates of the cloister are disqualified by canonical and physical disabilities, and to supply assistance upon occasion in the management of temporal affairs which was inseparable from the conditions of a religious house endowed with landed property.[1]

[1] The writer gratefully acknowledges valuable criticisms and suggestions received from the Dean of Wells.

APPENDIX IX

MINISTRIES OF WOMEN IN AND SINCE THE MIDDLE AGES

By Francis C. Eeles.

A.—THE PART TAKEN IN SERVICES BY THE RELIGIOUS

Women religious have usually said and sung Divine Service in their own churches, and also many other services unconnected with the sacraments or sacramentals.

In the case of Divine Service or Divine Office,[1] the older orders have generally used the whole service of the Latin rites, the form or use varying with the order.

The daughters of St. Benedict, whether ordinary Benedictines or Cluniac, Carthusian or Cistercian, have used the monastic rite with its twelve lessons at mattins. Dominican nuns have used the Dominican rite, Carmelites the rite of the White Friars Clares or Minoresses, like other Franciscans, have followed the Roman breviary. Of the more modern orders, some have recited the Roman breviary, while others have used some shorter form of the Divine Office, such as the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, while some have no choral obligation.

Those who have the choral obligation and who recite the breviary services, say or sing the whole of these services themselves with due formalities in their own monastic churches or chapels. This, of course, includes the reading of lessons and the saying or intoning of collects as well as the singing of psalms, responds, anthems, and the like. Monastic ordinals prescribe the method for doing this as in the case of religious of the other sex.

[1] *Divinum Servicium* generally in England (and elsewhere), or *Divinum Officium* in the Roman and many other Continental rites, signifies the ordinary daily service of which the orderly and continuous recitation of the Psalter and reading of Scripture form the essential part, whether the Psalter be recited once a week or once a month, and whether the daily services be seven or two in number. *Cf.* Book of Common Prayer, "the common prayers of the Church, commonly called the Divine Service."

Thus the *Ordinale* of the Benedictine nuns of Barking, 1404,[1] defines which of the dignitaries are to read the different lessons, and this even when a priest is present and begins the service. Thus at mattins on Easter Day:

"*sacerdos solemniter incipiat.* Domine labia mea aperies. . . . *Primam leccionem legat priorissa : secundam que fuerit senior in ordine terciam abbatissa.*"

A choir of nuns or canonesses has the usual choral arrangement, like that of a choir of monks or canons, with the stalls allocated to the different dignitaries, and the *cantrices* singing at a lectern in the middle, the principal persons sitting in the returned stalls on either side of the door through the screen.

Chief among other ordinary services than the choir offices taken by the nuns themselves are processions. These frequently went through the domestic buildings, cloister, chapter-house, and so forth, ending by stations in the church, before the rood and in front of the high-altar. Litanies, anthems, responsories, and the like, were sung in these processions, and collects said at the stations. This was generally done entirely by the nuns, except on such days as Palm Sunday, when the blessing of palms required a priest.

Certain services outside the church have also been said by the nuns themselves. Not only the commendation of the dying, in the absence of a priest, but the service when the body is taken from the infirmary to the church. So also the regular service in the chapter-house in commemoration of the departed in connection with the reading of the martyrology and the rule.

In the Manual for the French Carmelites, 1680, is a full description of the solemn reading of the gospel at the washing of feet on Maundy Thursday. A nun takes the gospel book from the altar and goes to the desk, preceded by lights and incense; she censes the book and reads the gospel exactly as the deacon does at High Mass.[2]

In the matter of regulation of services and ceremonial we find that at Barking in 1404 the *precentrix* appeared to be responsible for the arrangements:

"*precentrix premoneat sacerdotes et clericos ut preparent se ad processionem ad quam omnes moniales eant palliate.*"

In the actual carrying out of ceremonial the nuns took a considerable share. In some orders clerks were brought in to

[1] University College, Oxford, MS. 169.

[2] *Manuel de divers offices divins, pour l'usage des Religieuses de l'ordre de Nostres-Dame du Mont Carmel, erigé en France, selon la première Observance.* Paris, 1680. *Seconde partie, chapitre* ii., pp. 117-123.

carry lights, incense, and the like, in processions, but in others the nuns did these things themselves.

The Discalced Carmelite nuns in Spain in 1623 carried the holy water, the processional cross, and the lights in ordinary processions, and the *Hebdomadaria* said the collects at the stations, while on great occasions—*e.g.*, Candlemas or Palm Sunday, when there were priest, deacon, and sub-deacon—the lights and incense were carried by clerks in surplices or rochets.[1]

In the case of the French Carmelites in 1680 the practice seems to have been similar. At a funeral the rubric says that five priests are wanted, or at least three; if only three are present, the prioress chooses two sisters to carry the holy water and incense. The sisters carry the cross and two lights at the head of the procession; the convent follows in order of seniority; lastly, those who carry the holy water and incense, followed by the priest between the deacon and the sub-deacon.[2]

In a manuscript written for a house of Dominican nuns in Germany, probably St. Katharine's, Bamberg, now in the possession of the present writer, the rubrics distinctly assume that the prioress will take the whole of the burial service herself, including the committal. The form follows very closely that in the printed Dominican *Processionaria* of the sixteenth century.[3]

We may note that the present discipline of the Roman obedience for churches other than those of women religious seems clear from the statement in the *Motu proprio* on church music of Pius X. (November 22, 1903) in which this principle is laid down: "Singers in the church have a real liturgical office, and that, therefore, women, as being incapable of exercising such office, cannot be admitted to form part of the choir or of the musical chapel."

B.—THE SURVIVAL OF THE DEACONESS IN THE CONSECRATED NUN

Although the early history of the deaconess in Western Christendom is very obscure, and her ordination had been forbidden by certain local Councils, she certainly existed in Italy as late as the eleventh century, and some important survivals

[1] *Manual o Processionario de las Religiosas Descalzas de la Orden de Nuestra Senora la Virgen Maria del Monte Carmelo. Segun el Missal, y Ceremonial Romano reformado.* Veles [*i.e.*, Uceda], 1623.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

[3] *E.g., Processionarium ordinis fratrum predicatorum rursus recognitum: et multis orationibus adauctum.* Venetiis (L. A. Giunta), 1509.

of the office have continued down to the present day in Latin Christendom.

The consecration—as distinct from the ordinary profession—of a nun has been comparatively rare for a long time. Originally, as the form still shows, it was the solemn blessing or setting apart of a virgin devoted to the threefold vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and had nothing to do with any kind of diaconate. But in the Roman Pontifical at the present day there exist forms which show some connection between the consecrated nun and the deaconess. The consecration of the nun has taken place between the epistle and the gospel, and the bishop continues the Mass. At its end comes the following:

Missa finita, Pontifex dat benedictionem solemnem.
Et quia in nonnullis Monasteriis est consuetudo, quod loco Diaconissatus, Virginibus consecratis datur facultas incipiendi horas Canonicas, et legendi Officium in Ecclesia, Pontifex stans ante altare sine mitra, Virginibus consecratis coram eo genuflexis, dicit:
V. Dominus vobiscum. *R.* Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

Exaudi Domine, preces nostras, et super has famulas tuas spiritum tuum bene✠dictionis emitte: ut cœlesti munere ditatæ, et tuæ majestatis gratiam possint acquirere, et bene vivendi aliis exemplum præbere. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. *R.* Amen.

Tum sedet Pontifex, accepta mitra, et tradit Breviarium illis, ambabus manibus ipsum tangentibus, dicens:

Accipite librum, ut incipiatis Horas canonicas, et legatis Officium in Ecclesia. In nomine Pa✠tris, et Fi✠lii, et Spiritus✠sancti. *R.* Amen.[1]

Here we may note, firstly, that the existence of the female diaconate is recognised; secondly, that the consecrated nun is treated as a kind of substitute for the deaconess; and thirdly, that the work of the female diaconate is almost identified with the recitation of Divine Service. Such evidence as we have here seems therefore against the view that the only liturgical function of the deaconess was to assist in the baptism of women, and other special ministrations to women.

The whole subject is in need of long and careful research. But other evidence points in the same direction. In a Carthusian house of nuns the consecrated nun is—or was till comparatively recently—vested in stole and maniple at her consecration. According to Hèlyot,[2] who gives a picture of a nun so vested, the bishop used the same words at the delivery of the stole and maniple as are used when delivering these ornaments

[1] *Pontificale Romanum Clementis VIII. ac Urbani VIII. jussu editum et a Benedicto XIV. recognitum et castigatum.* Romæ, 1879, p. 159.
[2] Hèlyot, *Histoire des Ordres Religieux*, Paris, 1718-19, t. vii., pp. 402 *seq.*

EFFIGY OF A CISTERCIAN CONSECRATED NUN, 14th cent., formerly at PORT ROYAL DES CHAMPS.

Wearing a form of maniple.

[*Facing p.* 168.

at the ordination of a deacon or sub-deacon. The picture shows the stole worn round the neck, over the *cappa* or choir cope, and veil, with both ends hanging down in front, as in the case of a priest or bishop, and the maniple upon the *right* arm. The form of the vestments is the somewhat clumsy one usual in France at the beginning of the eighteenth century. These ornaments are also worn on the day of the nun's monastic jubilee and the nun is buried in them. But the stole is also used on certain occasions at mattins when a consecrated nun sings the gospel in the absence of a priest. At a conventual Mass—*i.e.*, a High Mass—in a house of Carthusian nuns, a consecrated nun takes the part of the third of the three sacred ministers, so far, at any rate, as to read or sing the epistle. It is true that she does this without leaving her place in choir, but the same is the case with the sub-deacon in a church of Carthusian monks. The statutes forbid the nuns to serve at Mass, or to touch or wash purificators.

Among the Benedictines the consecration of nuns survived into the eighteenth century. Hèlyot gives an account of the consecration of a nun, according to the form in the Roman Pontifical, at the Benedictine Abbey of Roncerai.[1] Here the consecrated nuns wore the surplice in choir, and Hèlyot gives a picture of a nun vested in one.

De Moleon, in his *Voyages Liturgiques de France*, published in 1718, notes that consecrated nuns existed among the Cistercians at Port Royal, and gives a picture of a mediæval effigy of one of them wearing a form of the maniple over the left arm.

C.—JURISDICTION BY HEADS OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS OF WOMEN

At various times women have exercised a considerable amount of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In the case of certain abbesses this has been almost episcopal in its range. In its most familiar form such jurisdiction is well described by a Roman Catholic writer as follows:

"Although women are not capable of receiving the power of sacred orders, yet they are capable of some power of jurisdiction. If a female, therefore, succeeds to some office or dignity which has some jurisdiction annexed to it, although she cannot undertake the cure of souls, yet she becomes capable of exercising the jurisdiction herself and of committing the jurisdiction to a cleric who can lawfully undertake it, and she can confer the

[1] Hèlyot, *Histoire des Ordres Religieux*, Paris, 1718-19, t. v., pp. 293 *seq.*

benefice upon him (cap. *Dilecta*, de major. et obed.). Abbesses and prioresses, consequently, who have acquired such jurisdiction can exercise the rights of patronage in a parochial church, and nominate and instal as parish priest the candidate whom the diocesan bishop has approved for the cure of souls (S.C.C., December 17, 1701). Such female patron can also, in virtue of her jurisdiction, deprive clerics subject to her of the benefices she had conferred upon them, by withdrawing the title and possession." [1]

The following may be quoted as an extreme instance of powers of jurisdiction, almost episcopal in range, being in the hands of a woman:

"The Abbesses of Huelgas . . . issued faculties to hear confessions, to say Mass, and to preach; they nominated parish priests, appointed chaplains, granted letters dimissory, took cognizance of first instances in all causes, ecclesiastical, criminal, and relating to benefices, imposed censures through their ecclesiastical judges, confirmed the abbesses of their subject houses, drew up constitutions, visited monasteries—in a word, they possessed a full ecclesiastical jurisdiction." [2]

Even the mitre as well as the crozier seems to have been used by certain women religious. Mr. Egerton Beck, a learned Roman Catholic, in the *Burlington Magazine* for July, 1913, writes as follows. After pointing out that the mitre had occasionally been granted to certain royal personages, and referring to Dom Claude de Vert's statement that it was worn by serving-boys at Vienne in Dauphiny, Mr. Beck says:

"Nor has the use of the mitre by lay folk been confined to the male sex. The only ladies, however, who have worn it are, so far as my knowledge goes, certain nuns and the Roman empress, unless we should include the abbess of the secular chapter of Hradschin, of whom mention will be made later on. Like her husband, the empress received the mitre at her coronation, her crown, too, being placed over it; though in her case the opening of the mitre was from front to back instead of from side to side,[3] a fashion which in the late twelfth century was common, or universal, among bishops. As to nuns,[4] a clerical friend told me some years ago that when in Spain he had seen a whole convent wearing the mitre in choir. Not being then

[1] W. H. W. Fanning, in *Catholic Encyclopædia*, vol. xv., p. 697.
[2] [Roman] *Catholic Encyclopædia*, vol. vii., p. 513.
[3] "Ordo Romanus," xiv., cap. 106, in *Museum Italicum*, ii. 415.
[4] "In days when the superiors of convents of nuns are, in England, commonly styled 'reverend,' 'very reverend,' or even 'right reverend,' one perhaps lays oneself open to criticism by classing them with the laity; but they certainly do not belong to the clergy."

specially interested in the subject, I did not ask for particulars; but I think he must have referred to the abbey of Las Huelgas, near Burgos, in regard to which nothing in the way of alleged privileges need astonish anyone, so great are those which it undoubtedly enjoys. The Abbé Laren, writing in 1849, said that the nuns then wore a "bonnet blanc . . . pas sans quelqu' analogie avec une mitre basse: un voile noir y est adapte."[1] The nuns of Las Huelgas are Cistercians; and an ecclesiastical correspondent then residing in Salamanca, where he held an official position, writing in 1905, told me that both the Benedictine and the Cistercian nuns of that province had a right to wear the mitre, though they did not avail themselves of the privilege. I think, however, that he had abbesses in his mind, as he went on to say that these might-be-mitred nuns brought their crozier with them to choir; one's imagination stops short of a croziered community, even of nuns. Some abbesses have undoubtedly worn the mitre, and one of the most notorious of these was the abbess of Conversano, another Cistercian. She was the ecclesiastical superior of the clergy of a district subject to the abbey; I do not know whether her authority over her subject clerics was as extensive as that of the abbess of Las Huelgas actually is or certainly was a few years since, but it was sufficient to justify her being known as the *Monstrum Apuliæ*. One thing her clergy especially resented. When a new abbess received their homage, she sat on a faldstool, at the outer gate of the abbey, wearing her mitre and holding her crozier; each of the clergy knelt before her and kissed her hand. In the eighteenth century the matter was taken to Rome; the result was that a decree was issued ordering for the future that her mitre and staff should be placed on the table by her side; that her hand should be covered with a glove or cloth; and that her subject clerics should not kneel to her as they would to the Blessed Sacrament, but bow as they would to a reliquary.[2]

D.—CANONESSES

The earliest religious orders were those of monks, the vast majority of whom were laymen. By the eighth century in Gaul, we find bodies of clergy organising themselves in communities and living by rule. Hence they were called canons. Their rules varied. There was nothing like the uniformity among them that existed among the monks. In course of time the clergy serving

[1] *Annales Archæologiques*, ix. 287.
[2] *Analecta Ecclesiastica*, June, 1898.

a large church often adopted a common or collegiate method of life, but without taking monastic vows. These bodies were known as secular canons, as contrasted with the canons of monastic life who were called regular canons. The canons regular based their rules upon some instructions given by St. Augustine to a community of virgins, and they therefore also became known as Augustinian canons. There were also women religious who followed similar rules, of which the so-called rule of St. Augustine was the foundation, and in course of time they were called canonesses. In A.D. 816, Louis the Pious, through the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, set forth a code of regulations intended to establish uniformity for all canons regular throughout his dominions. This was accompanied by a rule for *Sanctimoniales canonice viventes*,[1] which appears to have been for women who were not under a vow of celibacy, thus showing a parallel development among women to that of the secular canons. Later on we find an increasing number of houses of canonesses who were not under the threefold vow. These houses had usually some secular canons attached to them to do the work of chaplains, but the canonesses themselves carried out the choir services. In many cases communities that were originally Benedictine nuns or Augustinian canonesses regular developed little by little into canonesses secular. Attempts were sometimes made to induce them to return to monasticism. For example, in A.D. 1148, a Council at Reims ordered *mulieres quæ canonicæ nominantur* to follow the Benedictine or Augustinian rule. But the secularisation ended in being accepted in many cases. Secular canonesses were clearly recognised by Boniface VIII. (In Sexto, L. i., Tit. 9, c. 43); by Clement V., who made them subject to the diocesan bishop save in the case of exempt houses; by Councils at Cologne in 1536 and 1549; and by a Synod of Augsburg in 1584, to mention only certain cases.

In 1288, John of Flanders, Bishop of Liège, made a settlement of certain questions respecting the canonesses of Moutiers-sur-Sambre. It was complained that these ladies wore the black surplice and looked like Benedictine nuns in choir, while they wore secular dress outside, held personal property, and subsequently married, bringing up children who were regarded as legitimate, and that thereby no little scandal had arisen. The bishop had urged them to adopt the Benedictine or other recognised monastic rule, but they claimed to have always been secular canonesses like those of other communities in the diocese of Cologne and in Germany. So he ordered them to dress like other canonesses, wearing a white surplice and a black mantle

[1] Mansi, *Amplissima Collectio*, Venice, 1769, vol. xiv., *c.* col. 260.

over it, and to follow the use of the mother-church of Liège for the Divine Office.

During the later Middle Ages these houses of canonesses became very exclusive and many of them restricted their membership to ladies of the great noble houses. They seem to have served the double purpose of a school for the daughters of the nobility and of a place of rest for elderly spinsters and widows.

Among the documents at the end of this volume will be found extracts from an account of Remiremont, one of the famous houses of noble canonesses in Lorraine, by Felix de Salles.

The full text of the orders of the Bishop of Liège regarding Moutiers-sur-Sambre will also be found there.

The abbess of the noble canonesses of Hradschin near Prague had the right of crowning the Queen of Bohemia in the chapel of St. Wenceslas in the Castle of Prague. After the epistle of the coronation High Mass, she went to the altar, took the crown and placed it upon the queen's head, with the assistance of the Archbishop of Prague. An account of this will be found in Appendix XVI., p. 313 below.

The whole subject of these great Continental houses of secular canonesses appears to have been comparatively little explored. The writer has not yet seen their constitutions or their liturgical books, if any have survived. Nothing of the kind appears to be easily accessible in this country. No account of the growth of these communities and their life seems to exist in english, save a paper on a single house by Mr. Egerton Beck,[1] to whose great kindness the writer is indebted for many references of which he has made use here. Mr. Beck writes: "The members of these chapters were ladies unbound by any vows, who were free to marry after resigning their stall, but who, so long as they retained their prebends, were bound to the choral recitation of the Divine Office, being in fact the female counterpart of the secular canons who served, and still serve, cathedral and collegiate churches. For the most part these communities were in their origin Benedictine, but as time went on they fell away more and more from the observance of their rule, and eventually became completely secularised."

Of the great Lorraine house of Remiremont, the same writer tells us that a community of nuns founded by St. Romaric on Mount Haberd was driven out by Huns early in the eleventh century. Taking refuge at Remiremont they at first said their office in the parish church. Building a church of their own,

[1] *Remiremont, its Noble Chapter.* By Egerton W. Beck, F.S.A. Scot. Reprinted from the *Downside Review.*

Leo IX. exempted it on its consecration in 1051 from episcopal jurisdiction. The Bishop of Toul contesting this a little later, Urban II. decided against him, and Pascal II. confirmed this decision in a bull which forbade any bishop, even the ordinary of the diocese, to ordain, to consecrate altars, or to perform any other episcopal function, even the singing of a High Mass, within the abbey or its dependencies, without the permission of the abbess. There were also disputes with the Dukes of Lorraine, which were settled in 1312, when Frederic IV. took an oath of loyalty to the abbess, then a princess of the Holy Roman Empire. Thenceforward each duke took the oath of loyalty on bended knees before the abbess surrounded by her community." By the end of the thirteenth century the community had ceased to be nuns and had become canonesses.

Mr. Beck goes on to say: "The abbess, however, was always solemnly professed before receiving the abbatial blessing, and remained a Benedictine to the end—even, that is, after her subjects had become canonesses. Nor was this the only Benedictine survival. The community was described in official documents as Benedictine till the beginning of the sixteenth century; the monastic habit was retained till the end of that century; whilst the Benedictine office was said, the Benedictine rule was read at compline and the chapter of faults was retained till the beginning of the seventeenth; and even then the Roman breviary was only adopted through an error in judgment on the part of the abbess, Catherine of Lorraine, who bitterly regretted its introduction when it was too late to displace it, and afterwards compiled a proper for the abbey from its old breviaries.

"She was absolutely independent of the diocesan, who, we have seen, was not permitted to perform any episcopal function within the limits of her jurisdiction without her consent. In common with the other members of the chapter, she had a right to a portable altar. Her stall in choir was under a canopy of red velvet fringed with gold; and another canopied stall was devoted to her use in the choir of the canonesses of St. Waudru at Mons. She wore an almuce, and a mantle which was doubled with spotted ermine. She wore a sapphire ring like a cardinal, and in front of her stall was a golden pastoral staff. In processions her train was borne by a lady-in-waiting; her crozier was carried by her seneschal; and another official bore the 'pallium,' a purple silk veil embroidered with birds, which it is said was given to the abbey by Pope St. Leo IX. At the high Mass, the deacon and sub-deacon left the celebrant to escort her to the altar when she made her *offrande*. Finally, on certain days she blessed her chapter, a proceeding hardly in accordance

with early precept, and certainly counter to ecclesiastical tradition."

In some houses of canonesses where the canons who acted as chaplains had a separate choir, the canonesses joined them and sang Divine Service with them upon certain days.

E.—THE DRESS AND INSIGNIA OF WOMEN RELIGIOUS

The dress of members of religious orders of women is only of interest in the present enquiry so far as it may throw light upon their relation to the ministry. Certain parts of the subject have already been touched upon, as for example the use of the stole by deaconesses and consecrated nuns.

Generally speaking, in the older religious orders, the dress is the same for both sexes, except that the women have had their heads veiled instead of wearing some form of hood.

In the Eastern Church, where the only religious order is that of St. Basil, both sexes wear identically the same dress, through all three stages of the monastic life, from that of the Rasophore to that of the Megaloschemos, with its elaborately marked μεγάλη σχῆμα, or Great and Angelical Habit. The liturgical forms for admitting to the various grades are the same for both sexes.

"The full monastic habit is worn only by the monk or nun of the highest grade; but portions of the habit are assigned to those admitted into the lower grades. The portion assigned to a monk or nun of the lowest grade is less than the portion assigned to one entering the intermediate grade. There is no distinction between the habit of the monk and the nun. According to their respective grades monks and nuns are habited alike in the whole or a portion of the one monastic habit."[1]

We now turn to the West. The Benedictine nun wears the monastic *cuculla* in choir like a monk, but with a veil instead of a hood. The habit of the Carthusians is the same for both sexes, with the same difference. The Dominicans wear a white tunic with a black *cappa*. Some form of the *cappa*, more or less like the black choir cope of canons (*cappa nigra*), forms the characteristic choir dress of most orders of women. Canons very often wore the *cappa nigra* at one season of the year, discarding it at another. Some canonesses wear the surplice or rochet, whether

[1] *Monasticism in the Orthodox Churches*. N. F. Robinson. London, 1916, pp. 2, 3. The Eastern monastic habit is fully described and illustrated in this book.

with or without sleeves, over the vest of their habit, but with the cappa over it in church. The Benedictine nuns of Byghards-le-Grande wore the surplice as part of their ordinary dress and the black *cuculla* over it in choir.[1] Among canonesses the surplice or rochet was generally used in the house as well as in church. With this may be compared the use of the rochet by bishops as part of their ordinary dress, a relic of which still exists in their wearing it in the House of Lords. Canons, whether regular or secular, were essentially clerical. Whereas the monks were originally laymen very largely, the canons regular were bodies of clerks; hence apparently they wore the surplice. The canonesses no doubt copied the canons regular, just as nuns copied the monks and friars of their respective orders. It would be interesting to know whether the Benedictine nuns of Byghards-le-Grande and Roncerai adopted the surplice before or after canonesses took to using it. Generally speaking the surplice or rochet has been regarded as signifying the cleric, whether in Minor or Holy Orders. Singers have worn it rather of courtesy than of right, perhaps because they could be regarded as clerks in a loose sense. What is its significance when worn by women? Or how far can canonesses or even consecrated nuns be considered to partake of the character of the clergy? Is the use of the clerical dress in the case of consecrated nuns to be regarded as a survival of the deaconess?

Many canonesses did not wear the surplice. An account exists of the expenses paid in connection with the veiling of a certain Joan Samborne as a canoness of the Augustinian house of Lacock in Wiltshire in 1395. The Rev. W. G. Clark-Maxwell summarises the dress referred to in this as follows:

"The dress of an Austin Canoness, as gathered from this memorandum, would consist of: (1) a tunic of white cloth lined with fur for winter; (2) a mantle of (black?) woollen cloth, lined with white, for summer wear, and with fur for winter; (3) a veil of (black?) linen, and, though this is not expressed, a wimple of white linen."[2]

The secular canonesses of Remiremont did not wear surplice or rochet, but in choir they assumed a fur-lined mantle over their ordinary dress. In some instances—*e.g.*, at Nivelle—canonesses wore a form of surplice with peculiar modifications. The secular canonesses of Cologne wore a girded albe, with the sleeves tied at the wrists like those of an English bishop's rochet. The secular canonesses of Hradschin wore the mantle over a black

[1] Bar, *Recueil de tous les costumes des Ordres Religieux . . .*, t. vi. Paris, 1789.

[2] *Archæological Journal*, vol. lxix., 1912, pp. 117 *sq.*

A CANONESS SECULAR OF COLOGNE, c. 1700.

Wearing girded albe over dress of figured silk, and a combination of veil and choir mantle.

[*Facing p.* 176.

silk dress and the abbess wore a crown which may have developed from the mitre.

The origin of the use of the episcopal insignia by abbots is somewhat obscure. Pope Honorius is said to have given a faculty for the use of *episcopalia* to the Abbot of Bobbio in A.D. 643. At the burial of the Abbot Rainaldus it is said of Paul the Deacon that: Sic illorum jussu, adstantibus omnibus, virgam et annulum secundum regulam supra corpus sanctissimi Benedicti deposuit.[1] In the early Middle Ages papal grants of pontificalia to abbots become frequent, and we find the crozier used by priors who did not use the other episcopal ornaments. Abbesses also used it, together with the ring. Dom Cabrol[2] finds it difficult to fix the time when abbesses began to use the ring, but says such use was abolished by Gregory XIII. in 1572. Its use by abbesses may be a development of its use in earlier times by virgins, which certainly goes back to the days of St. Ambrose.[3] Its formal use at the consecration of virgins is not found in the older pontificals, but begins to appear in the thirteenth century, sometimes with, sometimes without, a form for blessing it. The early sixteenth-century picture of the Cistercian abbess of Marquette, near Lille, reproduced as the frontispiece, shows it in use.

In the parish church of Abbey St. Bathans in Berwickshire, is the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century effigy of a prioress of the small Cistercian nunnery that formerly existed there, showing a crozier resting under her right arm.[4] Not only abbots, but also certain priors used the crozier: the priors of Christ Church, Canterbury, and Durham used it from 1374 and 1378 respectively, and the prior of Taunton was granted the use of it in 1499.[5] The effigy at Abbey St. Bathans may be taken as evidence that it was likewise used by prioresses.

The use of the crozier by abbesses is not recognised by the Roman pontifical, but many mediæval pontificals, including those of this country, provide for its delivery, and in actual practice it is still in use in some places. This is one of the many cases where Roman use is no guide to general Western practice.

[1] Bull. Cass., ff. 2, 21, note au l. iv., c. xvii., qu. Cabrol, *Dict. d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, t. i., 2me partie, Paris, 1907, col. 2186.
[2] *Op. cit.*, col. 2186.
[3] Serm. xlviii. *P. L.*, t. xvii., coll. 701, 735.
[4] *Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, Scotland, Sixth Report and Inventory of Monuments and Constructions in the County of Berwick*, Edinburgh, 1915, pp. 1, 2.
[5] Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, 1787, p. xvi *n.*

No attempt has been made to enter upon the large subject of the forms used for blessing abbesses, consecrating or blessing nuns, and clothing or admitting novices. The blessing of an abbess is closely modelled upon that of an abbot, and the rest are all more or less connected with the idea of setting apart a virgin under vows and throw little or no light upon the more immediate object of the present enquiry. A critical edition of representative examples is highly desirable, but it would have been out of the question to burden this report with anything of the kind. Much information will be found in *Pontifical Services*, ed. W. H. Frere, Alcuin Club Collections, Nos. 3 and 4.

F.—THE POSITION OF THE QUEEN-REGNANT

An important sidelight may be thrown on the question of the position of women in the Church by a consideration of the place accorded to queens-regnant by the Church of England. Both under Judaism and also in Christian times, while a king has by no means always been regarded as an essential in the State, a particularly high place has been accorded him where one has existed. In the Old Testament we find the royal anointing was held to render sacred the person even of such a man as Saul; in the New Testament St. Paul refers to a pagan ruler as the minister of God in his own sphere; while in later days the coming of Christian kings brought something like a recognition of certain ecclesiastical as well as secular powers. Not every mediæval State had a king and not every king was anointed, but the emperor and a few others, of whom the King of England was one and the King of France another, received special unction in something very like a form of ordination which accompanied their crowning. This *consecratio regis* certainly elevated the sovereign into a position which was much more than that of a mere layman. The Papal canonists and those who followed them have maintained that the royal consecration conveyed no clerical character, and Lyndewode controverts the opinion, held, as he says, by some, that "the anointed king is not a mere lay person, but one of mixed character." Yet his words are evidence that such a view was held, and in the Imperial Coronation Order of Henry VI., crowned at Rome in 1191, a rubric says of the emperor:

"They vest him in amice albe and girdle. And so they bring him to the Lord Pope . . . and he makes him a clergyman; and gives him the tunic and dalmatic and cope and mitre, the buskins and sandals."[1]

[1] Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniæ Hist.*, Hanover, 1837; Legum, ii. 189.

The emperor had the right to read or sing the liturgical gospel, the kings of France or Sicily reading the epistle. Even after the chalice was withdrawn from the laity, the Roman emperors and the kings of France continued to receive Communion from it. As late as 1542 the Holy Roman Emperor is spoken of as ruling the Church, and was ordered to be received by the canons of St. Peter's at Rome, vested in surplice and grey furred almuce, like one of themselves, as well as to offer the chalice and paten with the Host and the water for the mixture, in place of the sub-deacon, in the Mass at his coronation.

At the last imperial coronation, when Charles V. was crowned at Bologna in 1530, he wore albe and stole like a deacon, a tunicle and dalmatic and a cope-shaped cloak. It was arranged that he should offer the paten and host and mix the chalice in place of the sub-deacon, and he ministered the chalice with the wine and water in place of the deacon.

The King of France at his coronation was vested in a tunicle like a sub-deacon, a dalmatic as a deacon, and a chasuble as a priest.[1]

Turning to this country, we find that from Saxon times to those of William and Mary, by whom it was omitted, the archbishop prayed that the sovereign might "nourish and teach, defend and instruct" the Church as well as the people.

If we place the outline of the two services for consecrating a bishop and crowning a king side by side, we find a more than chance resemblance; indeed, the Dean of Wells writes that the coronation service was "consciously moulded on the form for the consecration of a bishop."[2]

Consecration of a Bishop.	Consecration of a King of England.
Oath of obedience to metropolitan and examination by archbishop.	Oath of obedience to laws of St. Edward and instruction by archbishop.
Litany, laying on of hands, and *Veni Creator*.	*Veni Creator*, Litany (anciently, perhaps, laying on of hands).
Collect.	Collects (4).
Consecratory Preface.	Consecratory Preface.
Anointing.	Anointing.
	Vesting with albe, dalmatic, and stole.
Delivery of crozier, ring, and mitre, with book of the Gospels.	Girding with sword; delivery of *pallium regale*, crown, ring, sceptre, and rod.
Eucharist.	Eucharist.

[1] E. S. Dewick, *The Coronation Book of Charles V. of France*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1899, cols. 20 and 75. See MS. Leber, *Des Cérémonies du Sacre*, Paris, 1825, p. 297.

[2] *Guardian*, April 2, 1902, p. 466.

Of the coronation of Henry VI. an old account says:

"They array him like a bishop that should sing Mass, with a dalmatic like a tunic, and a stole about his neck, but not crossed, and sandalled, and also with hosen and shoes, and cope and gloves like a bishop."

It has been pointed out that these vestments are of secular origin, that their use by kings survived from the dress of the great officials of the later Roman Empire, and that it cannot therefore be held as signifying clerical character. But one has also to bear in mind the fact that the use of these vestments was retained long after strictly ecclesiastical significance had become associated with them, as well as the fact that the chasuble itself is of secular origin.

Of the nature of the royal authority in respect to the Church this is not the place to speak at length. It will be sufficient to refer to the late Mr. H. O. Wakeman's summary of it in his valuable but now scarce tract, *The Royal Supremacy in England*, pp. 5 and 6 especially. Here it may be sufficient to quote the late Dean Church's definition of the visitatorial power of the crown as "the right claimed by the crown as a Divine power to see that the Church, also a Divine power and institution, does the work appointed her by God; and to interfere if she does not."[1]

The important thing to bear in mind for the purpose in hand is that the service and ceremonial used for the mediæval kings continued to be used for Mary and Elizabeth, and, with certain changes made in 1685 and 1689, for Anne and for her late Majesty Queen Victoria, as well as to some extent for Mary II.[2] We are therefore entitled to say that Church authority in England has formally and officially recognised the queen-regnant as the same as a king. Whatever position was given to the king at coronation, whatever was effected by consecration, the same was given and effected if the sovereign were a woman.

As the king, so also the queen-regnant has offered to the celebrant the sacred elements prepared for the Eucharist at the offertory in the Coronation Service.

The rubric in the Coronation Order of Queen Victoria in 1838 runs thus:

And first the Queen *offers* Bread *and* Wine *for the Communion, which being brought out of King* Edward's *Chapel, and delivered into her hands, the* Bread *upon the* Paten *by the* Bishop *that read the* Epistle, *and the* Wine *in the* Chalice *by the* Bishop *that read the* Gospel, *are by the Archbishop received from the* Queen, *and reverently placed upon the Altar, and decently covered with a fair linen cloth, the Archbishop first saying this Prayer:*

Bless, O Lord, we beseech Thee, these Thy Gifts. . . .

[1] *On the Relations between Church and State* in *Christian Remembrancer*, April, 1850; reprinted by Macmillan, 1899, p. 17.

[2] In her case the ecclesiastical vestments were not used.

The writer has not attempted to do more than to state well-known facts. He has expressed no opinion either upon the theory of the relation of the sovereign to the Church or upon the action of the Church of England in respect to queens-regnant. That such action was contrary to important mediæval opinion is clear from the following extract from Sir John Fortescue, who says, it will be noted, that the power of touching for the king's evil is not given to queens since they are not anointed upon the hands. Yet Queen Anne touched for the king's evil, it is reputed with success.

"Item Regibus Angliæ Regali ipso officio plura incumbunt, quæ naturæ muliebri adversantur, et Regibus Angliæ quædam speciali gratia cœlitus infusa sunt quæ Reginis ibidem non infunduntur. Rex videlicet Angliæ auctoritate Ecclesiæ mixta persona censetur, adeoque vacantibus episcopatibus Reges ibidem omnes prebendos ecclesiarum Cathedralium sic vacantium interim vacantes conferunt quibus volunt, et breviariis suis Regiis collationes illas faciunt, quibus breviariis idem prebendarii in prebendis suis sufficienter in lege intitulantur et investiuntur, ac in eisdem ecclesiis Cathedralibus, ut Canonici earundem vigore huiusmodi breviariorum Regiorum incorporantur; et sic in hoc et pluribus aliis casibus quæ ostendi possunt potest Rex Angliæ episcopi vices exercere, quæ potestus mulieribus non convenit, nec mulieri unquam fuit concessa. Regis insuper Angliæ in ipsa unctione sua talem cœlitus gratiam infusum recipiunt quod per tactum manuum suorum unctarum, infestos morbo quodam qui vulgo Regius morbus appellatur, mundant et curant, qui alias dicuntur incurabiles. Item aurum et argentum sacris unctis manibus Regum Angliæ in die Parascivæ divinorum tempore, quemadmodum Regis Angliæ annuatim facere solent, tactum devote et oblatum spasmaticos et caducos curant; quemadmodum per annulos ex dicto auro seu argento factos et digitis hominum morbidorum impositis multis in mundi partibus crebro usu expertum est; quæ gratia Reginis non confertur, cum ipsæ in manibus non ungantur."[1]

[1] Sir John Fortescue, *Defensio Iuris Domus Lancastriæ*, c. iii., in his *Works*, ed. Lord Clermont, London, 1869, vol. i., pp. 508, 514, quoted by Dr. J. Wickham Legg, *The Coronation Order of King James I.*, London, 1902, p. xxxiii.

APPENDIX X

THE MODERN REVIVAL AND DEVELOPMENT OF DEACONESS LIFE AND WORK—WOMANHOOD OF THE MODERN AGE

By the Rev. H. U. Weitbrecht Stanton, D.D.

Whatever view may be held as to the exact nature of the office of deaconess in New Testament times or in the early Church, it is clear that long before the Middle Ages were over the deaconess had disappeared even from the Eastern Church; nor has there been any movement for a revival of the order, either in the Roman or the Orthodox Church. The demand for a restoration of the recognised ministry of deaconesses has arisen among the reformed communions, and its rise and development is related both to the religious and general conditions of the populations of the reformed faith.

Among the ethical developments of the sixteenth century, one of the most far-reaching was a radical change in the conception of a superior sanctity of virginity (made synonymous with "chastity") as compared with the married state. This opened the way to a return to the primitive and really catholic practice of the marriage of the clergy, and this tendency was furthered by the renunciation of obedience to the papal autocracy, with its Hildebrandine demand for a strictly disciplined army of celibate priests. The restoration of married life among the clergy helped to compensate for the loss in the ministry of women consequent on the suppression of the conventual houses. It did much to advance family religion in England and elsewhere, and many of our greatest religious leaders have been children of the parsonage, notably John and Charles Wesley. The wives of the clergy have undoubtedly contributed a large amount of effectual service to religious and social needs. This has been very marked in the earlier development of modern missions. At home one need only mention such names as Josephine Butler or Catherine Pennefather; abroad, Martha Weitbrecht or Priscilla Winter.

In the eighteenth century we see the awakening consciousness of a need for women's ministry outside the family circle. Eighteenth-century thinkers, occupying themselves keenly with the individual and the social study of man, began to question the customary social limitations of womanhood, and to demand for woman, as such, rights independent of her relation to man. The demand for rights found its complement in the revived sense of duty and the renewed impulse of Divine love which characterised the evangelical revival. The fervour of personal religion impelled many a woman to seek an outlet for it in spiritual and philanthropic service. Somewhat later the industrial revolution of the early nineteenth century, following on the application of steam and electricity to production and communication, promoted an increase and congestion of populations, with which the old domestic ministries were manifestly unable to cope. It became clear that, if women and children were to be cared for, the ministry of the available army of single women must in some way be utilised.

Early Beginnings.

The resuscitation of a recognised ministry of women was a gradual process, and its beginnings reach far back. As early as the sixteenth century we find "deaconesses" (caring for the young and poor) mentioned in *Ecclesiastical Regulations* of the Calvinistic community on the Lower Rhine. In 1575 a Puritan Conference in East Anglia ordained that "deacons, both men and women, be received into their office with the general prayers of the whole Church." In 1745 the Moravian Synod appointed deaconesses (for service among women and girls) alongside of deacons. On the Continent and in England a divine here and there gives voice to the need of the office of deaconess in the Church. It is noteworthy that the practical impulse to the restoration of the office came from the example of the Sisters of Charity in France. In the early nineteenth century the wars of liberation from Napoleonic tyranny brought both English and Germans into contact with their ministrations, and thenceforward we find repeated instances of a desire for some such ordered ministry of women in the reformed Churches. Thus, at Hamburg a senator's daughter—Amalie Sieveking—in 1819, expressed the desire to become foundress of a Protestant order of Sisters of Mercy. She regarded St. Vincent de Paul as her patron saint, and actually worked out a Rule for an order, but eventually it issued in a women's association for the care of the poor and sick. In England, in 1826, the Rev. A. R. C. Dallas

published a pamphlet advocating "Protestant Sisters of Charity," and, as is well known, the systematic ministry of women in the English Church was first developed in the sisterhood form, chiefly through the impulse given by Dr. Pusey. The first systematic effort to revive the office of deaconesses was made on the Continent.

Continental Foundations.

Theodor Fliedner, of Kaiserswerth on the Rhine (1800-1864), describes himself as "priest and doctor of divinity, by the grace of God restorer of the Apostolic Office of Deaconess." His friend and helper, Count Adalbert von der Recke, was even more precise in his ecclesiastical polity. He advocated the establishment of an order, with an abbess as its head, directing a number of archdeaconesses, set over circuits, in which the deaconesses were to work parochially. Fliedner was above all things practical. His work started from social needs. It was the miserable condition of public prisons which first attracted his sympathy and efforts outside his own pastorate. In 1826 he started the first Prison Mission in Prussia, and his attention was presently focussed on the needs of female prisoners, for whom an asylum was begun in Fliedner's garden-house. To this was soon added the care of the sick, and it was for them that the Kaiserswerth Deaconess House was founded in 1836. This was followed by educational institutions—an infants' school, girls' boarding-school, and teachers' training-school. A large farm provided food at a minimum of expense, and also training in rural economy. Daughter-houses for rescue and other works were started in Berlin and elsewhere in Germany, and journeys to the East resulted in the foundation of deaconess houses, staffed from Kaiserswerth, in Jerusalem, Smyrna, Beyrut, and Alexandria. At the time of Fliedner's death, in 1864, the number of mother-houses amounted to 30, 1,600 deaconesses were serving 26,000 sick persons in 400 different places, and more than 3,000 children were confided to the care of the "sisters," as they were commonly called. A large share in the work was taken by Mrs. Fliedner, who became head of the Kaiserswerth House in 1852, and continued to superintend it after her husband's death, till 1883.

Both before and after Fliedner's death the development of the work was greatly forwarded by the countenance and help of royalty and of the aristocracy; but it would seem that the majority of the deaconesses have been of comparatively humble origin. The parochial diaconate of women was but little de-

veloped by Fliedner himself. His great work was the organisation of mother-houses and the training of workers supplied by them for the works above indicated.

Franz Heinrich Härter (1797-1873), an Alsatian Protestant pastor, founded a deaconess house on Kaiserswerth lines, adapted to the then French conditions, in 1846 at Strassburg, with much benefit to the province, but on a comparatively small scale. More important was the work initiated by Wilhelm Löhe (1808-1872), Lutheran pastor at Neuendettelsau in Bavaria. Löhe represents the Lutheran High Church school, and his house had more of the sisterhood element. His deaconess work began in 1854, and his aim was primarily to furnish consecrated women for parochial ministry throughout Protestant Bavaria. But Neuendettelsau had also an idiot asylum, a penitentiary, a school of Church needlework, hospitals, and industrial and general schools.

The Diakonieverein (Deaconess Association) is a more loosely organised body, apparently representing the "Broad Church" side of German Protestantism. It had, in 1905, 820 "sisters," of whom a minority had been solemnly set apart as deaconesses, the majority being members of a Christian Nurses' Association. The "Union of Kaiserswerth Deaconess Houses" links together all the institutions connected with Fliedner's foundation. According to the latest available statistics (1904), these comprise 79 establishments, with 5,822 stations, 16,156 sisters,[1] and a yearly income of £750,000. About one-fourth of the houses were outside Germany. Sisters serving the sick were 6,427, parochial sisters 4,183, infant school-teachers 1,038. How the balance is made up does not appear. Outside the Kaiserswerth Union there were 19 other houses, with about 2,200 deaconesses.

These figures show that, since the founder's death, the parochial element in the work has developed very considerably, though it is still in a decided minority.

The deaconesses are practically all attached to some house or other, and are regarded as members of one society, subject to disciplinary rules, their temporal needs being provided for by the society. Each mother-house is administered by a head-deaconess under the superintendence of a clerical warden and a council. The training of a student is not confined to one house, but she is usually moved to various stations, so as to gain experience of different kinds of work. The deaconess is expected to take up her vocation as a life work, and is admitted by a solemn service, with laying on of hands. Marriage, however, is not forbidden,

[1] But see Appendix XV. for contemporary estimate by Pastor Dalhoff of Copenhagen.

and a certain number of deaconesses do eventually marry. It would seem that women of culture and good social status are in a considerable minority, but the training of the whole body is thoroughly efficient, and the effect of the revival of the office upon the life of the Protestant Churches in Germany and its dependencies has been immeasurable. At the same time, the leaders acknowledge that the number of their "sisters" is proportionately much behind that of the Roman Catholic orders.

Revival of the Deaconess Office in England.

The revival of the deaconess office in England was largely influenced by the Kaiserswerth movement, but in the Church of England it was naturally connected with the early custom of appointment by laying on of the bishop's hands. Its most persevering and successful promoter was Dean Howson, whose book on *Deaconesses* appeared in 1862. It was followed by *Deaconesses in the Church of England* (1880) and *The Diaconate of Women* (1886). After detailed exposition of the Continental movement, Dean Howson argues that "the English deaconess should be something between the desultory lady visitor and the member of a strictly conventual sisterhood." He is of opinion that "if women are professionally and officially employed in works of religion and charity under the direction of the clergy, and if they have the general recognition of the Bishops, this sufficiently satisfies the conditions of the Primitive Female Diaconate. . . . I see no proof that the earliest Deaconesses were necessarily chosen for life, or necessarily precluded from marriage, or even necessarily everywhere appointed by laying on of hands. Our Deacons are conventionally in a more strictly clerical position than the Primitive Deacons; and the Primitive Deaconesses were in a less clerical position than the Deacons." In respect of obligations undertaken on appointment, he writes: "I put the Diaconate of men and women side by side, for so they are placed alike by St. Paul and by the records of the early Christian ages." Similarly, Deaconess Gilmore writes in *Bishop Thorold's Life:* "The Deaconesses, when they were sent out, were to be co-ordinate with the Deacons." Dean Howson advocated their "setting apart by the laying on of hands." He is much in favour of connecting each deaconess with a motherhouse which should provide opportunities of devotion, refreshment, and needed care, besides previous training; but he will not allow that such connection is essential. His ideal is "a body of Deaconesses, coextensive with the Church itself, ready for service wherever they are needed." The good dean lived

to see the beginning of a fulfilment of his scheme. In 1862, the year of his first book's appearance, Elizabeth Ferard was admitted by Archbishop Tait as the first full deaconess of the English Church, though, strangely enough, the fact is not recorded in the archbishop's biography. It would seem that the importance of the step was hardly realised even by so great a Churchman. It is from the episcopal admission of Deaconess Ferard that the definitely Anglican type of the deaconess office dates. Before her admission she had visited Kaiserswerth, and afterwards worked in a sisterhood at Ditchingham. She had come to believe strongly in the revival of the deaconess order as an office of the Church under direct appointment from one of its chief pastors, and for twelve years she perseveringly directed her new house in § West London. Stimulated by her example, Dr. Harold Browne, as Bishop of Ely, started a second deaconess house in Bedford in 1869, and the same year saw one established in * Chester, followed by * Canterbury (1874), * Salisbury (1875), † Winchester (1879), at Portsmouth, § East London (1880), Durham (1883), † Rochester (1887, joined with Southwark 1891), at Clapham, † Exeter (1890), † Llandaff (1893), † Newcastle (1905), § Chichester. Among Bishops who have passed away, the movement owes a special debt to Bishop Thorold in practical working and to Bishop Lightfoot in vindication of principle.

The centres marked * are no longer mentioned in the Official Year-Book of the Church of England for 1918. In those marked † candidates are trained; in the others parochial or philanthropic work is carried on. The three houses marked § are deaconess communities under rules which differ little from sisterhoods, except that the members have been admitted to the office of deaconess.

The following tabular statement on p. 188, for the figures of which I am indebted to the kindness of the head-deaconesses, shows in outline the extent of the work being done in 1916-17. It appears that, of thirteen houses founded since 1869, ten are still at work. Among these, the two which train also for missionary work (Portsmouth and Clapham) account for twenty-eight out of the thirty-eight students in training.

The text of episcopal regulations in England and the Canon of the American Church on Deaconesses are given in the *Ministry of Deaconesses*, pp. 237-246. The forms of admission in use in the various dioceses are substantially identical, some—*e.g.*, Llandaff—being simpler than others. The operative part of the form used in London is given below :

Statistics of Diocesan Deaconess Houses.

House.	Staff.				Trained since Foundation.		Now at Work.		Works for which Trained.	Income 1916.
	Head Deaconess and House Assistant.	*Warden or Chaplain.*	*Lecturers and Tutors.**	*Students in Training.*	*Deaconesses.*	*Licensed Workers.*	*Deaconesses.*	*Licensed Workers.*		£ s. d.
Durham (1883) ..	1	1	†	3	22	55	17	10	Parochial	302 17 6
Ely and St. Albans ..	1	1	—	—	6	—	3	—	Parochial	930 14 7
Exeter	3	1	3	2	20	13	17	11	Parochial and Rescue	619 12 11
London (West) ..	2	3	—	1	85	—	30	—	Parochial and Nursing	1,636 16 0
Llandaff	2	1	†	2	5	7	2	6	Parochial and Rescue	399 0 0
Newcastle	1	1	†	2	6	6	5	4	Parochial	237 14 6
Rochester and Southwark (Clapham)	2	1	4	13	80	28	71	20	Parochial and Missionary	1,077 12 11
Winchester (Portsmouth)	2	2	1	15	58	no record	38	10	Parochial and Missionary	1,250 2 2
	14	11	8	38	282	109	183	61	—	6,454 10 7

Chichester (Hastings)
London (East) } No returns received.

* In addition to other staff.

† Lecturers supplied from neighbouring colleges.

Then shall the bishop say to the candidate:

Dearly beloved in the Lord, who are minded to take upon you this service in the Church of God, have you duly considered how weighty an undertaking this is, and are you prepared with a willing mind to take upon you this office of ministering to the suffering and needy, and in all humility and godly submission to help the ministers of God's Word and Sacraments?

Answer. I have so considered it, and will do so by the help of God.

Bishop. Will you be obedient to them who are over you in the Lord, cheerfully and faithfully performing the service that shall be appointed to you?

Answer. I will, by the help of God.

Bishop. Inasmuch as this office is not to be lightly undertaken, is it your desire to give yourself to the work of the Lord as deaconess, in singleness of heart?

Answer. I desire to do so by the help of God.

Then shall the candidate kneel at the altar rails, and the bishop shall say:

Almighty God, who has called you to serve Him in this holy life, give you the power to fulfil this your service acceptably, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

The bishop shall then lay his hands on the head of the person to be made deaconess, and solemnly bless her, after the following manner:

God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, bless, preserve, and sanctify you; and so fill you with all spiritual benediction and grace, with all faith, wisdom, and humility, that you may serve before Him to the glory of His great Name, and to the benefit of His Church and people; and make you faithful unto death, and give you the crown of everlasting life. Amen.

N——, I admit thee to the office of deaconess. In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then shall the bishop give the Cross to the deaconess, saying:

Receive and wear this Cross, a symbol of thy profession as deaconess. Be not ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified; bear ever in thy heart the remembrance of His love who died on the cross for thee. Amen.

The Mildmay Deaconess House in North London represents a movement connected with the Church of England, but less definitely ecclesiastical than that of the diocesan deaconess houses. In this case, too, the first impulse came from Kaiserswerth. The Rev. William Pennefather and his wife Catherine, he being then Vicar of Christ Church, Barnet, paid a visit to Pastor Fliedner's institution in 1860, and they came back inspired with the resolve to do a like work in the Church of England. In August of that year a "Training Home for Female Missionaries" was founded by them, and was very soon visited also by women who desired to be systematically prepared for religious and social work in home lands. Many came from Continental countries, as well as from the United Kingdom. In June, 1864, the Training Home was removed from Barnet to Mildmay Park, where Mr. Pennefather had meanwhile become incumbent of St. Jude's Church, and in 1870 the Mildmay Deaconess House was erected, adjoining the well-known Conference Hall. With the

sanction of the Bishop of London (given in 1861), the women so trained were designated as deaconesses, though a minority of them were episcopally admitted to the office, principally for Colonial Dioceses. From the year 1866 onwards the training of the Mildmay Deaconess House became more and more directed towards home work, and eventually the foreign candidates were transferred in 1884 to a separate institution, recently taken over by the C.M.S., and now known as Kennaway Hall, Stoke Newington, where over thirty such students receive a two years' course of preparation for work in the mission-field. As a result of recent changes in the Mildmay institutions, the Deaconess House has been reconstituted in new premises on a definitely Church basis, and is now known as St. Catherine's House. The number of students who have passed through the Mildmay Deaconess House for home work, as far as can be ascertained, is about 400, of whom probably one-half are still working in English parishes or in Colonial spheres. The present membership of the Deaconess House Guild is 150. Thirteen North London parishes are supplied by St. Catherine's House with women workers, who are either resident at the mother-house or in close connection with it. Several of its members are offering themselves for episcopal admission as deaconesses.

There are also diocesan homes for training women workers in Birmingham, in Liverpool, and in Manchester, and a training home under the Church Pastoral-Aid Society in Bristol; St. Deny's College, Warminster, trains women for work at home as well as abroad; and the same is done by the Sisterhoods at Wantage and Truro.

Ecclesiastical Recognition.

There is as yet no official definition of the status and duties of a deaconess in the English Church, nor any one authorised form of ordination from which it might be gathered. The "Principles and Rules," suggested by two archbishops and eighteen bishops in 1871, define a deaconess as "a woman set apart by a Bishop, under that title, for service in the Church." Canon 10 of the American Church (1904) lays down that "the duty of a Deaconess is to assist the Minister in the care of the poor and sick, the religious training of the young and others, and the work of moral reformation." A Committee of the Lambeth Conference of 1897 recognised with thankfulness the revival of the ancient office of deaconess in our branch of the Church, and insisted on the importance of regular admission and of adequate training and testing, as well as on the need of uniformity in procedure.

Another Committee appointed to report on the subject of Sisterhoods and Deaconesses at the next Lambeth Conference in 1908 recorded its opinion that "it would be inadvisable at this stage . . . to lay down authoritative directions . . . and that further time should thus be allowed for freedom of growth and development in the deaconess work, in the different conditions prevailing in different dioceses."

Characteristics of Development.

Meanwhile it may be said that the scope of the deaconess office, as revived in the Anglican Church, has been mainly pastoral, though a few deaconesses are school-teachers and a few are foreign missionaries. The work of nursing has scarcely, if at all, been included, herein contrasting with the practice of the Continent, where the term "deaconess" among Protestants is largely synonymous with "religious nurse." The primary work of the deaconess house is the training of candidates for the office. It also forms the centre of a community where the members are received when desiring intercourse, or needing care or spiritual and physical refreshment. From these centres, too, the members may carry on parochial and other work. The regulation of the transfer and licensing of deaconesses who are attached to no particular community is still an unsolved problem. It is found that such deaconesses are apt to lose touch with the diocese also.

In theory the deaconess is a *ministra* of the Church, set apart and licensed by the bishop and working under or in co-ordination with the parochial clergy, except where she is assigned to some special work, such as education, training, or rescue. From this conception of the office has flowed in practice the result that, before assuming so serious a responsibility, a period of testing in a more provisional sphere is practically necessary. If the accepted two years' curriculum is begun at the age of twenty-three, the view seems pretty general among head-deaconesses that a period of probationary service as licensed Church workers for an average of five years is not excessive. Eventually not a few candidates who have gone through their two years' training decide that, while they desire to work as trained and licensed helpers in parishes or otherwise, they do not feel called to the deaconess office. In the statistics of English Diocesan Deaconess Houses given above, besides the 183 deaconesess now at work, 61 licensed workers are enumerated. But it will be noted that the Portsmouth House enters under the latter head "No Record." With reference to this Head-Deaconess Siddall

writes: "Deaconesses and Licensed Workers are a very small proportion of the number trained in this House. I have not a complete record, but the number would not be short of 400, I believe." If we add to these the number of women trained at Mildmay and other institutions, who are engaged in the service of the Church, it is evident that there is a body of women who have received the same general training as deaconesses and who exercise substantially the same functions, but largely outnumber their sisters of the Deaconess Order. Not all of these, but the majority, have episcopal recognition, either in the form of licence, or in the Mission Field as enrolled members of a Diocesan staff, or at home by a service of recognition with a certificate after testing. This permanent class of licensed Church workers is on the increase, and practically forms an important part of the deaconess organisation, supplementing its activities and replenishing its ranks. On the other hand, the Bible-woman, the mission-woman, and the unpaid district visitor, stand on a different footing. In the diocese of London both classes receive formal recognition from the bishop at a public service, and are to some extent supervised by the Board of Women's Work. The more elementary, who have received only one year's training, form Class B; the more advanced, who have had two years, are in Class A. This tendency towards co-ordination of the class of licensed or otherwise recognised Church workers with the deaconess order should strengthen the work of both and help to bring out the specific character of the deaconess office.

The Foreign Mission-Field.

The development of women's recognised ministry in the foreign mission-field has been far-reaching. In the earlier part of last century it took place through the wives of the clergy. In India and Africa the earliest foundations for education of girls generally bear the names of married women. It was they who defended the propriety and urged the need of sending out single women missionaries, and who gave the impetus which, after the middle of the century, resulted in the foundation of the earliest women's missionary societies. Within the last sixty years the recognition of women missionaries as equally essential with men to the work of evangelisation and church-building has become a commonplace, and the number of women missionaries tends to overtake that of men.[1] The diaconate of women has been but little developed in the missions of our Church, but the body of

[1] In eight Church Societies for Foreign Missions, in 1917 the number of men was 1,281; of women, 1,824; total number of foreign missionaries, 3,105.

women missionaries, working mainly under the great Church societies, is recognised in each diocese as an authorised corps of Church officers, and their work is directed with a view to the needs of the diocese. It is difficult to say exactly how far the relation to the diocese of the admirable deaconess missionaries whom we have is practically modified by their office. The duties which devolve upon the woman missionary are, whether deaconess or not, generally speaking, more varied and responsible than those which fall to the lot of the home worker. There are occasional instances of Free Church deaconesses in the mission-field, but the Continental deaconess organisation is little in evidence among foreign women missionaries.

Deaconesses in Other Anglican Churches.

The development of the deaconess office in the Scottish branch of our Communion is only in its beginnings. The first deaconess was admitted by the Bishop of Edinburgh in December, 1917. In the Irish Church there appear to be no deaconesses as yet.

There is little to add to the details regarding deaconesses in the Colonial Churches and the Protestant Episcopal Church of the U.S.A. as given in the *Ministry of Deaconesses*, pp. 118-133. The Church of England has diocesan Houses in Sydney and Melbourne and New Zealand, and a beginning of deaconess work in Tasmania. Toronto has a Deaconess and Missionary Training House. In the Church of South Africa a few deaconesses are at work. India has a strong deaconess house at Lahore (St. Hilda's), and a smaller one at Allahabad, and a beginning at Madras. Jamaica has a small but effective house, and the same is the case at Peking. In the overseas Empire as a whole the spread of the office has been sporadic and weak.

In the United States it has been somewhat more vigorous and of longer standing than in England. The first deaconess house was opened at Baltimore in 1855. This is closed, but a house started in 1864 for the diocese of Alabama is still working at Mobile. Another on Long Island (1872) is now a sisterhood. Julia E. Ferneret was the first deaconess of the New York Diocese, set apart in 1887. In 1890 the New York Deaconess House and Training School was founded by Dr. Huntington. This was followed in 1891 by the Church Training and Deaconess House for the diocese of Philadelphia. Both the last named have developed into vigorous institutions, especially as regards the range and standard of intellectual training. They have sent out some two hundred deaconesses, besides many other trained

women, and a good proportion of their deaconesses are working in the mission-field.

It is practically impossible to get exact numbers, but, if one may hazard an estimate, deaconesses of the Anglican Communion overseas may number between three and four hundred, and in the United Kingdom within three hundred

Among English-speaking non-Episcopal Churches the deaconess office has spread unevenly. It has been recognised, but little more, in the Established Church of Scotland. The United Free Church in 1916 resolved on the institution of an office, to be known as that of "Church sister," to be held by "suitably trained women who devote their services to work in the Home Field of the Church." There is a "Baptist Deaconess Home and Mission" in Bloomsbury, with five "sisters." The Methodist Church has systematically developed a definite deaconess organisation. Its headquarters in England are at the "Wesley Deaconess Training House," Ilkley, Yorks (founded 1890). There were in 1909 "104 consecrated or fully accredited deaconesses, 63 probationer deaconesses, and 17 student probationers." A badge is worn with the uniform, to which, after twelve years' service, a bar with "True" is added, and after twenty-one years another with "Faithful." The period of training is a year. Deaconesses work under the local ministers; many are in the foreign field. They are admitted by a solemn service, beginning with a form of the *Veni Creator*, including the ancient Deaconess Prayer, and ending with Holy Communion. In Toronto, the Presbyterian Church has a Deaconess Training Home, with a two years' course. Twenty deaconesses were at work in 1913. In the U.S.A. the Methodist Episcopal Church has a vigorous and widespread organisation. The first "consecration" of a deaconess was in 1889. It reports in 1916 eleven training schools with 285 students, of whom 45 were preparing for deaconess work, and 65 about to "graduate" for it. The nursing and industrial work is linked together with the pastoral.

The first Scandinavian Deaconess House was founded in 1849, and two others have been added since, besides one in Finland (1867). These houses belong to the Kaiserswerth Union and follow the same lines, the majority being sick nurses. My informant, Pastor Dalhoff, of Copenhagen, estimates the present number of "sisters" in the Union at over 20,000. Of these, Denmark has 412, Norway 548, Sweden 433, and Finland 260—in all 1,653.

Relation to Other Women's Movements.

In his *Life* of Archbishop Tait, vol. i., p. 449, the present Archbishop of Canterbury writes with reference to sisterhoods: "Little as the fact is realised by some of the friends of these communities, the movement forms part of a far wider change, affecting the position, the independence, the training, and the responsibilities of educated Englishwomen." This is equally true of the deaconess movement. Both are parts of a larger process: the upward movement of womanhood throughout the ages, which received its unique stimulus when the Christ was born of Mary, and has taken a fresh departure as society and the world are opened in the modern age to the influence of His life and His ideals, and that not only in and through the Church, but in ways that are outside her immediate sphere. To get a correct perspective of the tasks and prospects of woman's diaconate, it must be carefully and courageously related to the woman's movement as a whole. One must view the office in the light of the work to be done, not measure the work by a preconceived theory of the office.

A writer in *Some Aspects of the Women's Movement* (pp. 169 *f.*) claims that "it is one of three simultaneous world movements towards a more equal partnership among human beings in human affairs." "It is paralleled," she holds, "by the international movement of labour and the stirring of subject peoples struggling for freedom to develop their own types of civilisation. All these movements are working in the non-Christian as well as in the Christian world, and spring from the permeation of human thought with our Lord's teaching on the value of the human soul."

Causes of Slow Development.

Another writer (Canon Streeter, in *Woman and the Church*, p. 99) suggests that the problems of women's pastoral ministry may be dealt with by an "extension and development of the Order of Deaconesses." Ideally considered, the combination of freedom and discipline in the dedication of life to the work of the Church, with her authority and under her orders, yet without binding vow or seclusion from general society, might well be expected to meet the modern situation. But, as a matter of fact, the office, though respected on all hands and emphatically useful in its sphere of work, has spread very slowly in the Churches of our Communion. What are the causes of this? The following points at which difficulty has arisen are submitted for consideration.

1. *Lack of Collective Recognition by the Church.*

The absence of a clear statement of principles by the Church as a whole. The special force of the deaconess conception lies in the ideal of her as διάκονος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, and it is this which inspires the devoted women who are endeavouring to embody the ideal in work and association. That the Church should permit this ideal to be realised, within limits, according to the needs and circumstances of various dioceses is both just and expedient. But that she should leave the deaconess movement without any collective regulation of principles or procedure up to date necessarily hampers its development. The first Anglican deaconess was admitted in 1862. A Committee of the Lambeth Conference in 1897 "hailed with thankfulness the revival of the ancient order of Deaconess," and another Committee in 1908, recommended the postponement of regulations. There is no accepted definition of the office and no common formula of ordination. If a candidate asks, "What does the Church of England require of a deaconess in the way of qualification and work, and what position does it confer upon her?" the answer is, "Wait and see."

2. *Varying Conceptions of Office.*

Meanwhile it was inevitable that a working theory of the ancient office of deaconess should be evolved. In its application to modern conditions this has developed into two types. The one is that generally held by the members of English diocesan deaconess houses. Those of the sisterhood are, of course, bound by the sisterhood vows, but in the case also of the "free" deaconess houses the view held is that the deaconess belongs to "an Order of Women Ministers" who, by the laying on of the bishop's hands have received grace of orders, conferring an indelible character, and are therefore "pledged to a lifelong ministry, by reason of which it would not be consistent with her vocation to lay aside her ministerial office and return to private life. This precludes her from marriage." The other type is represented by the American Church and by the deaconess houses in Sydney, Toronto and Jamaica, and the "ordained" women of the former Mildmay House (about 90 in all). These hold that the office of deaconess should be regarded as a life work, but that a resignation of it, by reason of some other unforeseen call, is permissible. The suggested Episcopal Rules of 1871 lay down that "a Deaconess shall be at liberty to

resign her commission," and in the Resolutions of the Upper House of Canterbury Convocation in 1891 we read: "A Deaconess so admitted (by the Bishop with benediction and laying on of hands) may be released from her obligation by the Bishop." The American Church, in its canon of 1904, "Of deaconesses," enacts that "such appointment (by the Bishop) shall be vacated by marriage"; and "a Deaconess may at any time resign her office to the Ecclesiastical Authority of the Diocese." Both sides agree in the need, not only of a full course of training, but also of an adequate period of preliminary service to test vocation to the office, and also that the deaconess should be regarded as a minister of the Church, no less than a deacon. In this connection the view is held by many that, as the deacon exercises his ministry, with certain modifications, whether married or unmarried, so the deaconess might exercise a ministry having a special usefulness of its own as a married woman. The deaconess office in the Church of England, like the Church itself, has been broad enough hitherto to embrace holders of both the stricter and the wider view, and there seems no reason why it should not continue to receive the contribution which each has to bring. They meet the objections brought against the diaconissate from opposite sides: one that it is too ecclesiastical; the other, that it is not ecclesiastical enough. As regards future development, Canon Streeter writes: "The office and functions implied by it must be something much more important and wider than is at present the case in the Church of England, and no suggestion must be attached that it implies a vow of celibacy." There can be no doubt that the last clause expresses the mind of the Christian woman student. She chooses her profession with no thought of its being a likely way to marriage, or as provisional till that may come about; but she bars a limitation to her choice if the vocation to marriage should come later.

Now, it is obvious that the prospects of a more effective development of woman's diaconate, which so far has but slightly gripped the womanhood of the Church, is bound up with the hold that it can gain upon the rising generation. Some months ago I attended a meeting of the Churchwoman's Suffrage League, at which the speakers gave voice to most moving variations on Florence Nightingale's complaint of the Church of England: "She gave me neither work to do for her, nor education for it." I pointed out that it was for them to send students to the deaconess training institutions which were doing this very thing. No reply was made at the time, but in their organ afterwards a letter appeared, saying that the writer and her fellows held back

because they did not know what the position of a present-day deaconess really meant, and what scope it would give to an educated woman.

3. *Relation to Social Movements.*

Allusion has already been made to the close relation between the woman's movement and the labour movement. In every society the position of woman is the fulcrum of the social lever, and the outlook of the modern woman is predominantly social. It is an unfortunate fact that the educated woman of the twentieth century generally regards the Church as lacking in insight and slack in efforts where social tasks and problems are concerned. The dealings of the Church and her workers (deaconesses included) with poverty, child welfare, education, and so forth, are regarded as amateurish and superficial, and the woman who is bent on grappling with these tasks fundamentally turns to social settlements or municipal posts and the like, rather than to Church work. This clearly marked tendency is fraught with danger to the Church and nation. Womanhood, which has been the mainstay of the Church, is drifting away from it. The deaconess hitherto has been regarded as having little to do with social work on a scientific basis. If the deaconess office can be intimately related to this side of our national life, the gain will be incalculable on both sides. This will involve, of course, more of social training for candidates, and greater elasticity in the methods of work. While, *e.g.*, a uniform has distinct advantages, it should not be allowed to stand in the way of leavening the ranks of social workers with women who bear the Church's commission and radiate the spirit of Christ.

4. *Graduate Women as Deaconesses.*

The complaint is made that the deaconess office has found little room for women of University type. It is difficult to estimate the justice of this accusation. When the demands of the professions open to women are satisfied, there probably are not, especially at present, many graduates available for the ministry. I have come across several instances of women of this class who have refrained from offering themselves for the diaconissate because of the lack, above referred to, of authoritative definition of status and obligations. Side by side with this is the fact that the curriculum of present institutions is unsuited for such candidates, and it may well be necessary to make separate provision for them. The scheme lately put forward of a Central Church College to train women for religious

and social work may, now that the war is over, be worked out to supply this need. It is to be hoped that such a scheme will be definitely related to the deaconess order, and that it may lead to the formation of a body of deaconess theologians, trained and qualified for teaching and research. All this will involve the more definite regulation of what one may call the "bachelor deaconess" who is attached to no community.

5. *Recognition by Clergy and Laity.*

It is not only lack of corporate recognition by the Church which has held back otherwise qualified women from the diaconate. Public opinion among the clergy and some of the laity requires education. Not long ago a well-qualified and episcopally recognised worker was asked to take a Mothers' Meeting. When she got there, a neighbouring clergyman gave the address, the vicar took the prayers, and the trained lady played the harmonium.

A courageous effort now being made to enrol graduate women for systematic parochial work at West Ham is, so far, unrelated to the diaconissate. The same is the case with St. Christopher's College, Blackheath, which might well help to train deaconess leaders for Sunday-school work.

6. *Remuneration.*

The idea that woman's diaconate should be an honorary office is common enough both in Britain and on the Continent. The practical result has been that many clergymen are still content to offer a deaconess or licensed worker less than a living wage. This is flatly opposed to the sense of economic justice which rules the modern woman's mind and goes back to the New Testament. The Rochester Deaconess House was the first to insist upon a minimum living stipend. The same is now being done by the London Diocesan Board of Women's Work and other bodies. To this provision must be added a suitable pension scheme, which it is comparatively easy to organise while deaconesses are few. If their status were known to connote a living wage and a reasonable provision for old age, the order would greatly gain in general estimation, not for pecuniary reasons merely, but because it would be felt that the Church sufficiently esteemed this class of workers to make an adequate provision for them.

Results and Possibilities.

It would be ungrateful to God to deal only with the causes of arrested development in the history of the Anglican diaconissate. The Church has much to thank Him for in the devoted and fruitful work of the hundreds of women who have entered its ranks; and it is well to ask what the conditions have been where they have attained success. The answer is that, equally in the stricter and the freer form of the diaconissate, the effective bodies have been those which set themselves with insight and energy, under capable leadership, to supply a real demand. To revive an Apostolic ministry is a noble ideal, but the ministry is a means to an end—"Tend My sheep, feed My lambs." If this ministry, in its modern development, is insistently adapted to the needs of the faithful and the lapsed, as they are here and now, it will grow and prosper exceedingly, and the adjustments to other operations of the Church and the world will be found. The leaders of the movement set before themselves as an ideal the combination of discipline and freedom in the ministry of women. If this is steadily followed, the growth of the diaconissate may well show the lines of a true and fruitful co-ordination of the whole ministry of women in the Church.

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A CANONESS SECULAR OF NIVELLE, c. 1700.

Wearing fur-lined choir cope or mantle over dress containing modifications of surplice and rochet.

[*Facing p.* 200.

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APPENDIX XI

THE MINISTRY AND ORDER OF DEACONESSES

By Head-Deaconesses Siddall and Barker.

"Jubilee," 1912.

Already more than fifty years have passed since the deaconess order was revived in the English Church. In 1912, with much thankfulness and high hopes, the deaconesses celebrated the jubilee of the revival of the order, when, by the invitation of the archbishop, they gathered together in the chapel at Lambeth and heard his words of encouragement and the sure confidence that he has in its future.

But the harvest tarries, and there is still vagueness and uncertainty, and often complete ignorance of what the title of "deaconess" stands for.

The "Deaconess" as defined by Authority.

Deaconesses believe that they have been admitted to an order of ministry within the Church by the laying on of the hands of the bishop. They find grounds for this belief in the formal pronouncements of certain bishops of the Church in 1871 and in 1891.

In 1871 two archbishops and eighteen bishops defined a deaconess as "a woman set apart by a Bishop under that title for service in the Church."

In 1891 the Upper House of the Canterbury Convocation passed certain Resolutions, the first of which stated that "deaconesses, according to the best authorities, formed an order of ministry in the early Church," while the second laid it down that "a Deaconess should be admitted in solemn form by the Bishop, with benediction, by the laying on of hands." Six years later a Report was presented by the Committee of the Lambeth Conference of 1897 on "The Relation of Religious Communities to the Episcopate." It contains these words: "We hail with thankfulness the revival of the ancient office of deaconess, and note the increasing recognition of its value to the Church." It

then proceeds to lay down certain principles, of which the first is this: "Care should be taken to prevent the application, within the limits of our Communion, of the term 'Deaconess' to any woman other than one who has, in accordance with primitive usage, been duly set apart to her office by the Bishop himself."

These quotations afford reasonable ground for the belief that the bishops who have set apart women as deaconesses have intentionally revived an ancient order of ministry in the Church.

The Order in the Early Church.

This order, we know, was fully recognised in the early Church. We are indebted to the Dean of Wells for its early history (*The Ministry of Deaconesses*, by Cecilia Robinson, Appendix A). Forms for the ordination of a deaconess in early times are still extant, and regulations for the manner of her life and service. She was invested with the stole, and the chalice was handed to her at ordination.

The deaconess of those first days was "regarded equally with the deacon as the servant of the Bishop"[1] at a time when the deacon was not regarded as being always a candidate for the priesthood. Hers was a consecrated life of active service in the world. Gradually, for practical reasons, and not by any formal pronouncement of the Church, the order fell into abeyance, though traces of it remained for many centuries.

(In the Roman Church to-day a trace of the order still remains among the Carthusian nuns, who receive the solemn consecration of virgin deaconess, and are vested in stole and maniple and sing the Epistle at the conventual Mass.)

The Reasons for the Gradual Decay of the Order.

The reasons for the decay of the order lay in the very nature of the deaconess's vocation. She is set apart to live a consecrated life and exercise her ministry freely in the world. After the first centuries such a life became increasingly difficult for women. We know that travelling was never so safe or easy as it was under the Roman Empire, until quite recent years. A further reason for the decay of the order lay in its discouragement by certain local councils which were suspicious of women taking too much upon themselves. These difficulties are now fast disappearing. It is an accepted fact that women should be able to live a life of public service in the world, and the prejudice that regards women's ministry with suspicion is dying out.

[1] *The Ministry of Deaconesses*, p. 68.

Revival of the Title.

The title of deaconess in later years was first revived by the Reformed Churches on the Continent, and was brought into prominence through the famous "Deaconess" Institution at Kaiserswerth, which was founded in 1833.

Revival of the Order.

But in this revival of the title there was no intention of reviving the ancient order, an impossibility where there was no episcopate. The ministry of women which was being exercised so effectively in the Lutheran Church led some in our own country to desire a similar exercise of women's ministry in the English Church. At the same time certain scholars, Bishop Lightfoot and Dean Howson in particular, were making known the fact that there had been in the early Church not only a ministry of women, but an order of women ministers.

It was with this in mind that Dean Howson worked for the ordination of the first deaconess of the English Church, who was set apart by Archibald Tait, then Bishop of London, in 1862.

Confusion in the Use of the Title.

But already, in imitation of Kaiserswerth, the title of deaconess had been applied both within and without our Communion to trained women workers who had not received the laying on of hands of the bishop, and who made no claim to belong to the ancient order. This has caused confusion in the understanding of what the title of "deaconess" signifies, as it has been used with two different connotations.

Confusion has been caused, not only by the misuse of the title, but also by neglect of its use. Soon after the revival of the order, deaconesses for the most part lived the community life, and, in addition to ordination, were professed as sisters. Owing to the revival of the "sisters" in the English Church being prior to that of the "deaconess," the sister's vocation was more easily understood, and so it came about that the community deaconess was recognised as a sister, but her ordination to the diaconate was overlooked. She was styled "sister," and it was not generally known that the "sister" was a deaconess. It was not until after 1887, when the Rochester Deaconess Institution was started, that the non-community deaconesses increased in number, and the deaconess vocation, as distinct from the sister's, came to be understood.

The Report of 1897 recognised both community and non-

community deaconesses. There will always be those who feel that they can best fulfil their ministry in community life, and it is hoped that they will continue to exist side by side with those who serve as free deaconesses according to the more primitive custom.

Difficulties in the Way of Revival of the Order.

The first fifty-five years of the history of the deaconess revival have been years of experiment. The order which took root and flourished in the East in the fourth century was to be reproduced in the West in the nineteenth century. There was a great gap to be bridged in both time and space. It has not yet been shown what the order may become if full opportunity is given for its development. Some of the difficulties in the way of revival have been pointed out. But by far the greatest is the fact that deaconesses have not yet been recognised by the whole of the Anglican Episcopate. They have been encouraged in their vocation and set apart by a certain number only of the bishops, though it must be admitted that those who have been concerned in the revival of the order have been some of the most distinguished, including as they do such men as Lightfoot, Westcott, Harold Browne, and Moberly, not to mention names of those who are still with us.

The women who have offered themselves for ordination have made a venture of faith, knowing that the position of the deaconess is not yet assured, but at the same time realising that it was not likely to be assured until the need for the ministry of the deaconess had been tested. But although many have been willing to make the venture, there are many more women, and those of the best, who have held back because the order has not received full recognition by the Church. This is much to be regretted, because the real value of the deaconess ministry within the Church cannot be fully tested until more women of devotion and ability enter its ranks, and exhibit how many-sided and far-reaching are the opportunities of service it offers to highly gifted women.

Relation of the Deaconess to the Bishops.

The deaconess vocation and ministry, unlike the sister's, are entirely dependent for their fulfilment on the authority of the bishops. Where a bishop will not ordain, there can be no deaconess. When it is realised that the existence of the order and of the deaconess institution in any diocese is wholly depen-

dent at the present time on the views held by the individual bishop, it will be seen that it requires no small venture of faith for a woman to offer herself for the diaconate.

Differentiating Functions.

An objection that is often brought forward to the revival of the order is the fact that the deaconess of the present day is not differentiated by any special function from other women workers, as she was in early days. In the early Church she was ordained to discharge certain functions, as, for example, the carrying of the Blessed Sacrament to women who were unable through illness to attend the services of the Church. It is much to be desired that the ordination of a deaconess should again confer the right to perform certain distinctive acts.

Value of the Ordination.

But ordination is valued by the deaconess not for the special rights that it may give, but for the grace that it brings to enable her to fulfil her ministry, and the strength that it gives her to know that the Church has accepted the consecration of her life to Christ's service. It should be of no little value to the Church to have a band of such women as her permanent commissioned servants. The deaconess knows the increased confidence that her ordination brings to the clergy under whom she serves, and to those to whom she ministers.

Question of Marriage.

For the deaconess believes that she is pledged to a lifelong ministry, and that she is, therefore, not free to enter into relationships or undertake duties which would permanently interfere with her special ministry in the Church. Though, for example, it might be right for her, with the bishop's consent, to give up her work temporarily, in order to minister to one to whom she owed a special duty, such as an aged or invalid parent, it would not be consistent with her vocation to lay aside her ministerial office and return to private life. This precludes her from marriage: not because she considers the marriage state in any sense inferior, but because it would make demands upon her which would prevent her from exercising her ministry as a deaconess. Marriage is a life vocation, by which a woman is set apart for the sacred duties of motherhood, which must always have the first claim on her life. The two vocations of the deaconess and the wife are therefore mutually exclusive.

The deaconess does not take the negative vow of celibacy,

but her ordination implies to her the positive vow of lifelong service for the Church, as has been the rule from the first days. It follows from this that a woman should not be ordained until she has fully tested her vocation. As a general rule a deaconess is not ordained under thirty, and in some dioceses the age-limit is higher. As a further testing a woman is often required to serve as a lay-worker before being presented for ordination.

Different Forms of her Ministry.

Hitherto the greater number of deaconesses have been engaged in parochial work. There are others who are in charge of institutions of various kinds. Some are working in the mission-field, some are engaged in rescue work, while one at least is employed in the organisation of Sunday-school work in a diocese. There is great scope and need for the work of deaconesses in many other directions. The National Mission has shown the great value of evangelistic visits paid to parishes in town and country. A college of deaconesses free to undertake special missions and other kinds of work, such as theological lectures in women's colleges and girls' schools, would meet a real need of the Church. A suggestion has been made that deaconesses might be employed on the staff of secondary schools, where they would teach some secular subjects and specialise in religious teaching. There is a great need also of deaconesses to visit the sick and aged in hospitals and infirmaries.

A deaconess must always remember that, like all ministers, she is a servant of the Church, and she must therefore be ready to fulfil any duties that are required of her, and not feel that any duty is too lowly for her to perform. At the same time there are many duties that may be equally well or better performed by others, and, without drawing any artificial distinction between spiritual and social, it should be her chief work to minister in what are commonly known as spiritual things. Her chief work should be the teaching and training of children and adults in the faith, visiting the people in their homes, and preparing girls and women for Confirmation and the Sacraments of the Church. She should be one to whom other women can turn for help and advice, not being herself the one woman worker, but teaching and encouraging others to be workers.

Parochial Deaconess, and her Relation to the Incumbent.

The parochial deaconess is licensed to her parish by the bishop, and she works entirely under the direction of the incumbent. Her relation to him is similar to that of the assistant clergy. She

is engaged by him, and the engagement can be terminated in the usual way after sufficient notice (generally three months) has been given. She should have a recognised place on the staff, and be present at the Chapter meetings, that she may be able to work in co-operation with the other members of the staff and in entire loyalty to the incumbent.

It is not uncommonly said that the clergy do not know how to use to the full the services of a deaconess. It may also be true that deaconesses are not as ready as they should be to accept responsibility, and do not show that they are capable of it. More women are wanted as parochial deaconesses who can be leaders as well as workers.

Relation to her Bishop.

The distinguishing feature of a deaconess is that she holds office directly under the bishop, and owes obedience to him; she should not work in any diocese without the bishop's permission, nor in any parish unless she is licensed to it by him, neither can she resign her work without his consent. These rules were laid down by the bishops in 1871 and 1891. They have been disregarded in some cases, notably when the deaconess has not been attached to a deaconess institution and when the bishop concerned has not recognised a deaconess as such, and has not required the observance of the deaconess rule.

Head-Deaconess and Diocesan Deaconess Home.

In certain of the dioceses of England the bishop of the diocese appoints a head-deaconess, who is responsible to him for the care and management of the deaconess house and for the training of those who desire the office. She acts, as far as he desires, as a link of communication between him and his deaconesses. But the deaconesses owe no direct obedience to her, and she has no authority, other than he gives, to impose regulations. (In the case of community deaconesses, obedience is given to the mother superior under the rule of the bishop.)

The head-deaconess and the deaconess house in a diocese provide a centre where the deaconesses can come for help and advice and for times of rest and retreat, and where they can find the strength that comes through belonging to a corporate body. It means much to a deaconess, often working alone in a parish, that she has with her the prayers and sympathy of those with whom she is associated in the same order.

Head-Deaconesses' Association.

In 1909 the head-deaconesses formed themselves into an association, which meets for conference yearly. This has done much to promote closer relations between the various deaconess houses, and has enabled the head-deaconesses to act as a body in matters affecting the welfare and development of the order.

Service of Ordination.

The deaconess is set apart by the bishop at a special service, generally associated with a celebration of Holy Communion. The ordination takes place preferably at a public service in the cathedral or a parish church of the diocese; this is fitting, as the deaconess is the servant of the Church. It is a matter of regret that bishops who ordain deaconesses have not agreed upon a uniform service. At the present time the use varies, though often only slightly, in different dioceses. Since the revival of the order about 400 deaconesses have been set apart. There are at present seven deaconess houses in the province of Canterbury (two of which do not provide training for the diaconate), two in the province of York, and one in Scotland, three in India, one in China, one in New Zealand, and one in Australia.

Maintenance of the Deaconess.

A deaconess, as a rule, receives a stipend. It should be sufficient to allow her to live without anxiety and to fulfil her ministry with the greatest efficiency. It should also be such that she is able to put by for a pension in her old age. A deaconess does not surrender any private income that she may have, but this should not prevent her receiving from the parish or other source a sufficient stipend for her maintenance and pension. If she accepts less than this, she encourages the under-payment of other deaconesses who have no private means. But whatever her income may be, a deaconess should live simply, as befits a servant of Christ, regarding her money as a sacred trust to be used in ways consistent with her stewardship.

In conclusion, the following suggestions are made in the belief that, if they could be carried out, they would help to establish the order more firmly and lead to a better understanding of the deaconess vocation until the time shall come when our Church will give her full and unanimous recognition to the order.

(1) That it is desirable in all dioceses, where deaconesses are ordained, there should be one service used for their setting apart.

(2) That bishops should require their deaconesses to observe the regulations set out by the Canterbury Convocation in 1891.

(3) That some definite and distinctive function should be entrusted to the deaconess, to which she is ordained, in accordance with the practice of the early Church. It might rest with the parish priest to decide whether she should in every case exercise this particular ministry.

(4) That deaconesses, by right of their office, should be given a place on ruridecanal chapters.

(5) That bishops should require a more definite standard of scholarship to be reached by a woman before she is ordained, and that in every case a period of preparation in a deaconess house should be required, where she would have opportunity for study and receive a good theological training, as well as training in pastoral work and the spiritual life.

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APPENDIX XII

THE DEACONESS ORDER IN THE AMERICAN CHURCH

By Deaconess Caroline H. Sanford, S.Th.

In 1855 the Rev. Horace Stringfellow, of St. Andrew's Church, Baltimore, Maryland, with Bishop Whittingham's approval, opened a house called St. Andrew's Infirmary, with four resident deaconesses and four associates. The rules of this deaconess community required a probationary term of residence, after which, upon application to the bishop, with his approval and with the unanimous consent of the other deaconesses, the candidate was set apart by the bishop in an impressive service. Rules of discipline and forms of prayer were provided.

The head-deaconess was nominated by the bishop and elected by the deaconesses. Each deaconess was allowed $100 for personal expenses, and was promised care in sickness and old age. Deaconesses were at liberty to withdraw at six months' notice. They could be sent anywhere to work that the bishop willed, but always were subject to the "Rules," and liable to recall. They cared for the sick and destitute and taught in parish schools. This house no longer exists.

In 1864 a second deaconess community was organised in Alabama. This was on much the same plan, but their having charge of the Orphanage and Schools of the Church Home, Mobile, Alabama, has secured them a permanent centre and home.

In 1867 the Bishop Potter Memorial House was opened in Philadelphia, Penn., by Mr. William Welsh, at that time the chief advocate of the deaconess order in the Church. This was not a home, but a training school for Church workers, making no provision for them financially. There was a house-mother in charge of the house, while a committee of experienced women gave not only religious instruction, but personal oversight in practical training. This was of three kinds—in parish schools, hospitals, and mission work. When considered qualified, the worker was recommended for work under some bishop, and sent

forth with a service of benediction—a true "servant" of the Church in heart, though without the title or garb of a deaconess. These women won the confidence of the Church by their devotion, especially in the Indian missions, and paved the way for trained deaconesses of a later day. In the course of twelve years this school was closed on account of Mr. Welsh's declining health.

In 1870 a Committee appointed by the Board of Missions reported at the annual meeting "on the subject of organised services of women as a most important feature of missionary work." This report recommended "grafting" such organisations of women upon the existing missionary organisation of the Church, but nothing further was done.

In 1871 "The Principles and Suggested Rules" issued by some of the English bishops was read in General Convention, and the subject was debated with sympathy and interest.

In 1872 Bishop Littlejohn, of Long Island, organised a diocesan deaconess association with the English "Principles and Rules" as a basis. He admitted seven members to the order, and their work was entirely parochial. In later years they were given charge of the Church Home, and have since changed to a sisterhood.

Other small associations of deaconesses were started in several places, but all up to this date "were no part of the Church itself but only associations that had grown up within it, under the fostering care of the bishops who had seen fit to organise and appoint them within their own dioceses." "Canonically they were neither allowed nor forbidden."

In 1880 a canon was presented in General Convention by Bishop Paddock, of Massachusetts, which was accepted by the House of Bishops, but was too late for action by the House of Deputies.

Rev. Wm. R. Huntington, D.D., of New York, had succeeded Mr. Wm. Welsh as chief advocate for the deaconess order, and it was largely through his efforts that, in 1889, the General Convention of the American Church passed canon xx., "On Deaconesses." [1]

Immediately upon the passage of the canon, Dr. Huntington organised classes at Grace Parish House, New York, where candidates for the deaconess order could have a two years' course of study in the Old and New Testament, Theology, Church History, Liturgies, History of Missions, and the Art of Teaching. The bishop was at the head of the work, but Dr.

[1] This canon was revised in 1904, and is printed below, with the original 1889 readings in footnotes.

Huntington, as warden, had full charge. It was no part of his original plan to have the candidates live together; they boarded where they could. Nor did he at first approve of any practical training for them while pursuing their studies. The classes were opened in October, 1890.

Meanwhile the friends of the Philadelphia "Bishop Potter Memorial" were considering reviving that system of practical training for Churchwomen, when the passage of the canon gave them the needed impetus. The Church Training and Deaconess House was started through the energy of Miss Coles, and with the hearty approval of the Rt. Rev. O. W. Whitaker, D.D., bishop of the diocese. They were happy in the assistance of the Misses Biddle, the ladies who had chief share in the practical working of the "Memorial House." It was decided to require a term of residence in the house, to emphasise the practical and hospital training under experienced workers, but in addition to have the same course of study as the New York school. This plan was followed. Under the "house-mother," later to become the "head-deaconess," the students took their part in all household duties; twelve lady "managers," chosen for marked ability in some line of Church work, had personal direction of the students. Through the bishop's influence the ablest instructors from the Divinity School took charge of the intellectual training. The opening of the school was delayed till January 6, 1891. Time justified the plan of community life during the term of training, and the following October, 1891, Dr. Huntington opened a house for his school, called St. Faith's, for many years the centre of a successful and growing work, now transferred to an imposing building on the Cathedral grounds and renamed "The New York School for Deaconesses." Both these schools are open to missionaries and other Church workers besides deaconesses, and both now require practical training in addition to the intellectual. The training school more recently started on the Pacific coast, in Berkeley, California, is on these lines.

Women wishing to become deaconesses are sent by their bishops as their candidates, and those bishops assign their future work and provide their support. "The Form of Service for the setting apart of Deaconesses," adopted first by the New York school, is now in general use throughout the American Church, with slight local changes.

There are hundreds of the graduates of these schools on active service, in Church schools, hospitals, orphanages, and rescue homes, and in the foreign and domestic mission-fields, including two hundred American deaconesses.

Deaconesses are specially needed in the struggling missions of our own land. From Alaska to Florida they hold their lonely posts, supplementing the efforts of the overtaxed clergy, by canvassing, visiting, and preparing classes for Baptism and Confirmation, paving the way for the settled pastor.

It is plain that women leading these lonely, independent lives could not conform happily to the restrictions of a deaconess community in old age. An effort was made in the first years of the order to form a "Deaconess Retiring Fund," to which the deaconesses should contribute small annual dues. It was found best for each training school to have its own fund, instead of a general one; but there is a steadily growing interest in the subject, and we hope in the future the retiring deaconess may have a small but sufficient annuity to permit her to choose the place of her "evening rest."

TITLE I, CANON 20,[1] OF DEACONESSES

[*Passed in* 1889.]

[From the Digest of the Canons of the General Convention.]
[The footnotes contain the original text of 1889 as it stood before amendment.]

§ i. A woman[2] of devout character and proved fitness, [3]unmarried or widowed,[3] may be appointed Deaconess[4] by any Bishop of this Church. [5]Such appointment shall be vacated by marriage.[5]

§ ii. The duty of a Deaconess is to assist the Minister in the care of the poor and sick, the religious training of the young and others, and the work of moral reformation.

§ iii. No woman shall be appointed Deaconess[4] until she shall be at least twenty-three[6] years of age, nor until she shall have laid before the Bishop testimonials certifying that she is a communicant of this Church in good standing,[7] and that she possesses such characteristics as, in the judgment of the persons testifying, fit her for at least one of the duties above defined. The testimonials of fitness shall be signed by two Presbyters of this Church, and by twelve lay communicants of the same, six of whom shall be women. The Bishop shall also satisfy himself

[1] 20, 1889.
[2] Unmarried women, 1889.
[3–3] *Omit*, 1889.
[4] To the office of deaconess, 1889.
[5–5] *Omit*, 1889.
[6] Twenty-five, 1889.
[7] In good standing of this Church, 1889.

that the applicant has had an adequate preparation for her work, both technical and religious, which preparation shall have covered the period of two years.

§ iv. No Deaconess shall accept work in a Diocese without the express authority in writing of the Bishop of that Diocese; nor shall she undertake work in a Parish without the like authority from the Rector of the Parish.

§ v. When not connected with a Parish, the Deaconess shall be under the direct oversight of the Bishop of the Diocese in which she is canonically resident. A Deaconess may be transferred from one Diocese to another by Letters Testimonial.[1]

§ vi. A Deaconess may at any time resign her office to the Ecclesiastical Authority[2] of the Diocese in which she is at the time canonically resident, but [3]she may not be suspended or removed from office except by the Bishop for cause, with the consent of the Standing Committee, and after a hearing before the Bishop and the Standing Committee.[4]

§ vii.[5] No woman shall act as a Deaconess until she has been set apart for that office by an appropriate religious service, to be prescribed by the General Convention, or, in the absence of such prescription, by the Bishop.

[1] Letter dismissory, 1889.
[2] Ecclesiastic authority, 1889.
[3] No Deaconess, having once resigned her office, shall be reappointed thereto, unless there be, in the judgment of the Bishop, weighty cause for such reappointment, 1889.
[4] *Add* § vii. The Bishop shall have power, for a cause, after a hearing granted, to suspend or remove a deaconess from her office, 1889.
[5] § viii., 1889.

APPENDIX XIII

DEACONESSES IN THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

By the Very Rev. James Cooper, D.D., D.C.L., Litt.D., etc.

Regius Professor of Church History in the University of Glasgow, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1917.

The instituting of deaconesses in the (Established) Church of Scotland is a measure which we owe really to the late Rev. Professor Charteris.[1] Of him and his organisation of women's work (except that it omits my previous constituting of the Women's Guild of St. Margaret in Aberdeen, 1882) a good and fair account is given, at sufficient length, in his *Life*,[2] while the official records will be found in the Reports of the Schemes of the Church of Scotland for 1886 and 1887, and in the *Church of Scotland Year-Book* for 1899.

Dr. Charteris wished the deaconesses to be admitted by the presbytery with the laying on of hands, and to be subject to the presbytery direct; others thought this might make them superior to the lay-elders, and Dr. Charteris gave in. But it was never meant for a moment that the deaconess should sit in any of the courts, or "usurp authority over the man"; nor, of course, have they any share in the ministry of the Word.

The most important parts of the *Year-Book* (1899) articles are as follows:

[*From "The Book of the Church of Scotland,"* 1899 (p. 74).]

"Organisation of Women's Work.

. . . . . .

"*III. DEACONESSES AND THE DEACONESS HOUSE AND HOSPITAL.*

"Particulars of this department will be found in the articles at pp. 30 and 32. Before being set apart to the Office of Deaconess, applicants have to answer the following questions at a

[1] Dr. Donald Macleod's "Parish Sisters" came later.

[2] *Life of Dr. Charteris*, by the Rev. the Hon. Arthur Gordon, chap. xv.

public religious service, the time and place of which shall be appointed by the Kirk-session of the parish and duly intimated.

"(*a*) Do you desire to be set apart as a Deaconess, and as such to serve the Lord Jesus Christ in the Church which is His body?

"(*b*) Do you promise, as a Deaconess of the Church of Scotland, to work in connection with that Church, subject to its Courts, and in particular to the Kirk-session of the parish in which you work?

"(*c*) Do you humbly engage, in the strength and grace of the Lord Jesus Christ our Lord and Master, faithfully and prayerfully to discharge the duties of this office?"

The following are the relevant portions of the articles on pp. 30 and 32:

"*Deaconess Institution and Training Home.*

"The Committee on Christian Life and Work, acting under authority of the General Assembly, opened this institution in 1887 . . . its operations being conducted by a Board of Management appointed by, and responsible to, the Committee.

"The Deaconess House itself is situated at 27, George Square, Edinburgh . . . used in connection with it is St. Ninian's Mission, in the Pleasance, a complete set of Mission Halls and Rooms erected in 1890 . . . for residents acquiring a practical training in Mission Work. Adjoining St. Ninian's is the Deaconess Hospital. . . . In this hospital district Probationer Deaconesses receive training in Sick-Nursing and Ministry among the sick poor.

"The Object of the Institution is twofold:

"(1) Its primary object is to provide training for Christian women who, being able to make Christian work the chief object of their life, desire to be set apart as Deaconesses of the Church. These, after having had two years' training in the Institution, as required by the General Assembly, will, on application to their Kirk-sessions and presbyteries, be set apart as Deaconesses, and may therefore be appointed to service in the Church either in some parish at home or in one or other of the Church's mission-fields abroad. The course of training necessary for a Deaconess extends over two years, and includes one year in the Deaconess Home and one year in the Deaconess Hospital.[1]

[1] It should be here mentioned that the office of Deaconess may be obtained in another way, the Regulations of the Assembly providing that ladies who have been known as Christian workers *for seven years* may be set apart as Deaconesses without residence in the Training Home. Those will in most cases, though not necessarily, continue to reside and work in their own parishes.

"(2) So far as its accommodation will allow, after meeting the requirements of those preparing to be Deaconesses, the institution receives for instruction and training Christian women who, though not intending to be set apart as Deaconesses, yet desire to be competent Christian workers, either that they may serve in their own parishes or that they may be employed elsewhere in missionary work. In this way there have from time to time been received, for longer or shorter periods, ladies who desired training with a view to their appointment by the Women's Missionary Association of the Church, and a large number of those trained in the institution are now serving the Church in the Home, Foreign, and Jewish mission-fields.

"The training given in the Institution is threefold, and includes:

"(1) *Systematic Class Instruction.*—Instruction by means of lectures, the study of prescribed books, and otherwise, is given in the following subjects: (*a*) Scripture Knowledge and Christian Doctrine; (*b*) Church History; (*c*) Principles and Methods of Home Mission Work; (*d*) History and Methods of Missions to the Heathen. . . .

"(2) *Practical Training and Experience in Home Mission Work.*—. . . House-to-house visitation, . . . helping to conduct various meetings in the Mission Hall, such as Mothers' Meetings, Sewing Classes, Evangelistic Meetings, etc., and also Kitchen or Cottage Meetings in the houses of the people.

"(3) *Practical Training in Sick-Nursing.*—In the Deaconess Hospital . . . erected in memory of Lady Grisell Baillie, the Church's first Deaconess. . . ."

THE UNIVERSITY, GLASGOW,
August, 1918.

APPENDIX XIV

FORMS FOR THE ORDINATION OF DEACONESSES

Arranged by the Rev. A. D. Rigby, B.D., Vicar of Blacktoft, E. Yorks, sometime Scholar of Wadham College, Oxford.

PART I

A Collation of—

I. Eastern Forms.

Antiochene. From *Apostolic Constitutions*, viii. 18, 19 (*c.* A.D. 375).

Constantinopolitan. From Goar, *Euchologion Græcorum*, p. 262;

From Matthew Blastares, *c.* 1335, qu. Goar.

Nestorian. From Pontifical of 1559, tr. Maclean.

II. Western Forms.

Italian. From Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicæ*, v. 577.

North French. From Pontifical of Egbert, Surtees Soc., pp. 19, 94.

III. Modern Forms.

Durham.
Exeter.
East London.
London.
Newcastle.
Rochester and Southwark.
Llandaff.
A suggested new form.

PART II

A Collation of—

Dr. Deacon the Nonjuror's Form, 1734, with
Forms 1 to 6 in § III. above, and
A suggested new form.

NOTE

THIS compilation was made in 1912 as the outcome of a request to the writer by the late Canon Mosse, Warden of the Society of Christ in the diocese of Durham. In view of the "Jubilee of the Revival of the Ancient Order of Deaconesses in the Anglican Church" which was celebrated in June of that year, as well as of a possible revision and enrichment of the Book of Common Prayer, Canon Mosse, dissatisfied with the diversity of Ordinals in use among modern communities of Deaconesses, desired (1) "to collect material for a better form than at present exists among us" and (2) to "have a sketch of what an Ordinal for Deaconesses should be like." The manuscript remained in Canon Mosse's hands until 1917, when upon the formation of the Archbishops' Committee on the Ministrations of Women and Deaconesses he wrote on the subject to the chairman, the Dean of Westminster, and afterwards, at the Dean's request, forwarded the manuscript to him.

All the ancient and modern forms known and accessible to me have been arranged in two parallel synopses, with some explanatory notes and criticisms. The "Suggested New Form" is an attempt to construct a new and better service mainly on primitive lines, and in its wording is almost entirely a compilation from past and present rites. It is "suggested" merely as an experiment and a possible starting-point for further developments. The whole collection of materials is put forth with the view of preparing for a common "Form and Manner of Ordering," and as such it is submitted to our Fathers in God and to the Heads, Wardens, and Chaplains of all associations of Deaconesses.

A. D. RIGBY.

BLACKTOFT VICARAGE,
December 9, 1918.

SOME AUTHORITIES CONSULTED, WITH ABBREVIATIONS BY WHICH THEY ARE REFERRED TO:

Rob. = *The Ministry of Deaconesses*, by Deaconess CECILIA ROBINSON (Methuen, 1898).

C. Q. R. = *Church Quarterly Review*, January, 1899: Article (by Professor [afterwards Bishop] W. E. COLLINS) "On the Early History and Modern Revival of Deaconesses" (*vide* especially the criticism on pp. 337-441).

M. G. = Bishop J. WORDSWORTH'S *Ministry of Grace* (Longmans, 1901), especially pp. 276-282.

Leon. = *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, ed. Feltoe.

Gelas. = The *Gelasian Sacramentary*, ed. H. A. Wilson.

Greg. = The *Gregorian Sacramentary* (Migne, *P. L.*, lxxviii.).

Ord. Rom. = *Ordines Romani* (Migne, *P. L.*, lxxviii.).

Badger = *Nestorians and their Ritual*, vol. ii. (Masters, 1852).

A.—ANCIENT

(TRANSLATIONS MAINLY

I. EASTERN.

Antioch (*c.* 375).	*Constantinople.*		*Nestorian.*
Apost. Const. viii. 18, 19 (tr. Rob., 187 *f.*).	Goar, *Euchologion*, p. 262 (tr. Rob., 197-199).	Quoted by Matthew Blastares (*c.* 1335) from MSS. (ap. Goar) (tr. Rob., 199 *f.*).	Pontifical of 1559 (tr. Maclean, ap. Rob., 200 *ff.*). Also in Denzinger, *Rit. Or.* ii. 261.
18. CONCERNING A DEACONESS.	PRAYER AT ORDINATION OF A DEACONESS.		THE ORDER OF THE LAYING ON OF HANDS UPON DEACONESSES.
I, Bartholomew, enjoin:		In the case of a deaconess everything must be done, with a few exceptions, as in the case of deacons.	

[1] This service is said to be from an old MS. of the Casanatensis Library. It contains *before this*, services for (1) Consecration of a Sacred Virgin; (2) Ordination of an Abbess professing Canonical Rule; (3) Consecration of Virgins who are to live in their own houses: *after this*, services for (1) Consecration of Widows who have professed Chastity; (2) Ordination of an Abbess professing Monastic Rule (Rob., 203 *n.*).

Wordsworth (*M. G.*, 276 *n.*) thinks these Latin forms in Muratori and Egbert are *blessings of deacons' wives*—"they are, in parts, very like the blessing of virgins." Certainly the service as it stands is only suitable for widows or nuns, and there is no direction for the laying on of hands. But the diaconal position of the rite (after Epistle and Gradual), the investiture with stole, and its occurrence as a separate service in the midst of others relating to widows, virgins, etc., before and after it in the MS.

ORMS

ROM ROB.).

		II. WESTERN.	
Rationale.		*Italy.*	*North of France.*
Eastern.	*Western.*	Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicæ*, v. 577 (tr. Rob., 203-205).	Pontifical of Egbert (Surtees Soc.), pp. 19, 94 (tr. Rob., 206 *f.*).
		FOR THE MAKING OF A DEACONESS.[1]	
		The bishop, when he blesses a deaconess, puts the stole (orarium) *on her neck. Moreover, when she goes to church, she wears that upon her neck, but in such a way that the end of the stole on either side is under her robe* (tunica).	
	Mass, to end of Gradual.	*Also* MASS FOR THE CONSECRATION OF A DEACONESS.	
	Introit,[2] Ps. liii. (liv.) 1, 2*a*. Ps. liii. (liv.) 3.	Save me, O God, for Thy Name's sake, etc. *Psalm :* For strangers are risen up, etc.	
	Collect.[3]	*Prayer :* O God, the lover of chastity and preserver of continence, graciously hear our supplication, and mercifully behold this Thine handmaid; that, vowing the modesty of	

em to show it is the survival of a form for the actual Ordination of a Deaconess, in hich the prayers, and propers of the Mass, have been altered to suit a time when al deaconesses were no longer ordained. *Cf.* a similar survival in the case of Carusian nuns (Rob., 98).

[2] The Introit is also that for Monday in fourth week of Lent and in the " Missa pro ipso" in the Sarum, Westminster, and Roman Missals (with a different Psalm in the latter).

[3] The Collect, with the Secreta and Postcommunio following, all occur in a Mass for " Ancilla Dei " in the *Gelasian Sacramentary* (159 *f.*), and in the " Missa pro vidua iæ fuerit castitatem professa " in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges (*H. B. S.*, p. 295). ne phrase " *sixty*-fold fruit of continence " is specially appropriate to widows, in cordance with the familiar interpretation of St. Jerome.

I. Eastern.

Antioch.	*Constantinople.*		*Nestorian.*
	After the Holy Oblation has been made, and the doors have been opened, before the deacon says, Having made mention of all the saints,[1]		
O Bishop,	*she that is about to be ordained is brought to the bishop;*	*For when she is brought to the Holy Table, she must be clad in a maphorion, the ends of which hang down in front;*[3] *and*	*A sister is chosen from the convents who is somewhat advanced in years, and experienced in the work of monastic life, and about whom there are testimonies to* [*her*] *good works.* *At the order of the chief priest, she is brought to the deacon-house at the time of Sacraments;* *and the archdeacon presents her before the bishop,*
	and he, reciting The Divine Grace,[2]	*after* The Divine Grace which careth	

[1] *I.e.*, after the Great Intercession (Hammond, 117; Brightman, 390)—the same position as for the Ordination of Deacons.

[2] [Ἡ θεία χάρις] The remainder within brackets is supplied, *mutatis mutandis*, from the Ordination of Deacons—so, too, with the rubric for the singing of three Kyrie eleesons, which is the responsive sequel to "Let us therefore pray for her." [In Ordination of Deacons, the bishop lays his right hand on the head of the ordinand while reciting "The Divine Grace," etc.].

[3] *Cf.* Gallican *Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiqua*, xi., which directs a nun (*sanctimonialis*

FORMS—*Continued.*

Rationale.		II. Western.	
Eastern.	*Western.*	*Italy.*	*North of France.*
Liturgy, to the end of the Great Intercession.	Epistle, 1 Cor. vi. 15-20. Gradual, Ecclus. xlv. 8.	continence in Thy fear, she may preserve it by Thy help, and of Thy gift may receive the sixty-fold fruit of continence, and life eternal, through, etc. *Lesson of the Kings*[4] *on the Sunday after Pentecost:* Brethren, know ye not that, etc.[5] *Versicle:* God loved her, and adorned, etc.[6]	
[*Ordination begins.*] Introduction. Election. Presentation. Proclamation			

rgo), when brought to the bishop for consecration, to be clothed in such vesture as e is always to use in the future, suitable to her profession and sanctity.

[4] "Lesson of the Kings" (*Lectio Regum*): I cannot explain this. Perhaps an O.T. ction was prescribed, and something has dropped out of the text. Certainly "Lectio egum" cannot refer to the Epistle, which is introduced by the usual "Fratres."

[5] The Epistle is that for the Nuptial Mass (Sarum) and the "Missa pro sponsis" Vestmr., Rome).

[6] The Gradual is that for the Common of a confessor, etc. (Westmr., Rome).

I. EASTERN.

Antioch.	*Constantinople.*		*Nestorian.*
	[which ever careth for the things that are weak, and filleth up the things that are lacking, appoints the most religious N. to be a deaconess: Let us therefore pray for her, that the grace of the all-Holy Spirit may come upon her]	for the things that are weak [and filleth up	*with her hands clasped*
	while she bows her head,	*has been said, she bends neither knee, but only her head;*	*and her head bowed, and the upper part of her body inclined, but without kneeling on her knees, as that is not comely.*
[*with the presbytery and the deacons and the deaconesses standing by (infra)*]	[1][*And immediately* Lord have mercy *is sung three times, by those in the bema and by those outside.*]		*The archdeacon intones,* Peace [be with us] *and the bishop prays, beginning,* Our Father, which art in heaven, *and then says,* To Thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul, *to* [*the tune*] GIORA. [*i.e.*, Sojourner], *as far as* mine eyes always.[4] *And they say,* Glory. *Then the chief begins the canon,* Teach me, O Lord.[5] Thy strength, O Lord, impart to Thy handmaid, *etc. And he prays, beginning,* To Thee do I lift up. Pour out Thy grace, O Lord, upon Thy handmaid.
thou shalt lay thy hands upon her, with the presbytery and the deacons and the deaconesses standing by;	*lays his hand on her head,*	*and the bishop lays his hand upon her*	

[1] See n. [2], p. 224.
[2] Ps. xxv. 1-14.
[3] Ps. cxix. 33.
[4] + "my eyes." Ps. cxxiii. 1-3 (*cf.* throughout the Nestorian Ordinal in Badger ii. 322 *ff.*).
[5] The Litany in the old Roman rites (for major orders) has replaced the Silent Prayer of the Church Orders. [In *Apost. Const.* the direction for priests, deacons, and deaconesses to be "standing by" (see above), and the similar one in the case of

FORMS—*Continued.*

		II. Western.	
Rationale.		*Italy.*	*North of France.*
Eastern.	*Western.*		
and Bidding.			
		Then, she being prostrate before the Altar,	
(Litany)	Litany	*let the Litany*[5] *be performed :*[6]	
(summed up in)		*and when it is ended,*	

acons and priests, are parallel to "the rest of the bishops and priests *praying in lence*" in the Consecration of Bishops.] At this point in the Ordering of Deacons, othing is left of a Litany in the mediæval English books beyond "Flectamus genua. evate" (Sarum, Exon., York, Pont. of Magd. Coll.); the full Litany has been put rther back. Similarly at Constantinople there is nothing more at this point (if ere ever was) than three Kyries, and the Litany comes later, parallel to the second dination Prayer.

6 "Imponatur" perhaps rather = "precented" (*vide* Ducange).

I. EASTERN.

Antioch.	*Constantinople.*		*Nestorian.*
and thou shalt say :	*and making three signs of the cross, prays as follows.*	*and prays*	*And when he ends the archdeacon intones,* Peace [be with us]. *And the bishop prays,* Our gracious God. *And then the archdeacon intones,* Peace [be with us], *and the chief prays*
O God the Eternal,	O God, the Holy, the Almighty,		O Lord God,[1] mighty, omnipotent, who madest all by the might of Thy word, and by Thy command upholdest all the beings which Thy decree created,
the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,	Who hast hallowed woman by the birth of Thine Only-begotten Son our God from a virgin after the flesh, and who hast given the grace and visitation of the Holy Spirit not to men only but to women also;		and hast received both men and women to bestow on them the gift of the Holy Ghost,
the Maker of man and woman, who didst fill with the Spirit Miriam and Deborah, and Hannah and Huldah, who didst not disdain that Thine Only-begotten Son should be born of a woman; Thou that in the tabernacle of witness and in the temple didst appoint the women-guardians of Thy holy gates:			
Do Thou now also look on this Thy	Do Thou now also, O Lord, look on this		Thou, O Lord, also now in Thy compassion

[1] The prayer, "O Lord God . . .," is structurally parallel with the second Ordination Prayer for deacons (Badger, ii. 328), but the verbal parallels are much more numerous with the first prayer in Goar.

[2] "Exaudi, Domine, preces nostras," etc.: The collect for an ordinand deacon in *Greg. Sacr.* and subsequent Western books (Egbert, Leofric, Robert of Jumièges,

FORMS—*Continued.*

		II. Western.	
Rationale.		*Italy.*	*North of France.*
Eastern.	*Western.*		
		let the bishop say over her this prayer :	*Blessing of a [deacon or] deaconess.*
3. Bishop's Prayer for Ordinand. (Laying on of hand or hands.)			
	Collect.	[2] Hearken, O Lord, unto our prayers, and upon this Thine handmaid [N. (Egb., Leofr.)]	

Mediæval English). It is also the "Oratio ad abbatissam faciendam" in *Greg.* (*cf.* York Pont.); and Rom. Pont. has it near end of "Benedictio et Consecratio Virginum," with reference in rubric to diaconissate (*cf.* Rob. 98).

Also in Leofric Missal (ed. Warren, p. 226) under title "Oratio ad Diaconissam faciendam."

I. EASTERN.

Antioch.	*Constantinople.*		*Nestorian.*
handmaid, who is appointed unto ministry [or, "unto the office of a deaconess": εἰς διακονίαν] and give to her (the) Holy Spirit, and cleanse her from all defilement of flesh and spirit, that she may worthily accomplish the work committed unto her,	Thy handmaid, and call her to the work of Thy ministry (διακονία) and send down on her the rich gift of Thy Holy Spirit; keep her in Thy orthodox faith, always fulfilling her office (λειτουργίαν) in blameless conversation according to Thy good pleasure.	that she may blamelessly accomplish the work of the ministry (διακονία),	choose this Thy feeble handmaid for the good work of ministration, and grant unto her that without blemish she may perform before Thee this great and exalted ministration, being kept without harm in all ways of excellence, and may be admonishing and teaching chastity and good and right works to her fellow-women,
to Thy glory and the praise of Thy Christ, with whom to Thee and the Holy Spirit be glory and worship, world without end. Amen.	For to Thee is all honour, glory, and worship, even Thee, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and ever, and world without end. Amen.		
[End of rite in *A.C.*]			
[Deacon's Litany in *Euchologion* said concurrently with Bishop's prayers in next column.]	*While the deacon is repeating this prayer, the bishop, still keeping his hand on the head of her who is being ordained, prays as follows:*		
And after the Amen, *one of the deacons prays as follows:*	O Lord God, who dost not reject even women who offer themselves in accordance with the Divine will to minister (λειτουργεῖν) in Thy holy places, but hast received		
In peace let us pray the Lord.			

[1] [VD . . .] "Deus, qui Annam filiam Phanuelis," etc. The prayer contains nothing characteristic of deaconesses, and much of it is here omitted (as in Rob.); it is quite appropriate in the connection in which it is found in the *Missale Francorum*

FORMS—*Continued.*

		II. Western.	
Rationale.		*Italy.*	*North of France.*
Eastern.	*Western.*		
		send forth the spirit of Thy blessing, that bein enriched by Thy heavenly gift she may be ab to attain to the grace of Thy majesty,	
		and show forth to others an ensample of goo living, through, etc.	
4. Second Prayer for Ordinand (laying on of hand). Deacon's Litany meanwhile.	Consecratory Prayer.	*The "consecration" follows after the manner of a preface:* [1] O God, by whom Anna, the daughter of Phanuel, when she had known for scarce seven years the yoke of matrimony, was then for four and eighty years preserved in holy and undefiled widowhood, ...	

("Benedictio viduæ, quæ fuerit castitatem professa"—Migne, *P. L.*, 72, 328). C Neale and Forbes, *Gallican Liturgies*, p. 155 ("Benedictio Vidualis" in *Missale Gall canum*).

I. Eastern.

	Constantinople.		*Nestorian.*
	them in the rank of ministers (λειτουργοί);		
For peace from above . . ., Let us pray the Lord. For the peace of the whole world, Let us pray the Lord. For our archbishop . . ., Let us pray the Lord.			
	give the grace of Thy Holy Spirit also to this Thy handmaid, who desireth to offer herself to Thee and to fulfil the grace of the ministry (διακονία), as Thou didst give the grace of Thy ministry (διακονία) even unto Phœbe, whom Thou calledst to the work of ministration (λειτουργία);		
For her who is now appointed deaconess, and for her salvation, Let us pray the Lord.	Grant to her, O God, to abide without condemnation in Thy holy temples, to be	and follow after continence and a holy conversation, and so continue in the holy temples.	
That . . . God may grant to her a ministry blameless and undefiled, Let us pray the Lord.	mindful of her own conversation and especially of continence, and make Thy handmaid perfect, that she, standing at the judgment seat of Christ, may receive the reward of her good conversation.		that so she may be counted worthy to receive from Thee the recompense of good works in the great and glorious day of the revelation of Thine Only-begotten,
For our most pious . . . King . . ., For our deliverance . . ., Help, save.	Through the mercy and loving-kindness of Thine Only-begotten Son, with whom Thou art blessed, etc.		to whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost be glory and honour and thanksgiving and worship, *He raises his voice*, now and ever, *and they answer*, Amen.

FORMS—*Continued.*

		II. Western.	
Rationale.		*Italy.*	*North of France.*
Eastern.	*Western.*		
		. . . . .	
		. . . . .	
		vouchsafe, Almighty God, to receive the arduous and laborious purpose of this Thy servant, which differeth little from perfect virginity, . . .	
		. . . . .	
		. . . . .	
		. . . . .	
		. . . . .	
		Grant therefore, O Lord, at our petition to this Thy handmaid	
		among the married thirty-fold, with the widows sixty-fold fruit.	
(Special clauses in the Deacon's Litany.)		May there be in her mercy and vigour, humility and bountifulness, freedom and uprightness, kindliness and soberness. Let her meditate on Thy work day and night, that in the day of her calling she may be worthy to be found such as through the spirit of prophecy Thou hast willed her to be. Grant this, through our Lord, etc.	

I. Eastern.

Constantinople.		*Nestorian.*
	(*But he does not permit her to serve the spotless mysteries . . . as in the case of the deacon.*)	*And the bishop places his hand upon her head, not in the manner of ordination, but blessing her, and praying over her an inward prayer according to his strength.*
And after the Amen, *he puts the diaconal stole round her neck,*[1] *under the maphorion,*[2] *bringing the two ends forward.*[3]	*Then upon her neck, under the maphorion, the bishop places the diaconal stole, bringing the ends forward.*	

[1] Observe that the diaconal *orarium* is put *round her neck* (similarly, though less definitely, in Blastares and in the Latin form), instead of on the left shoulder as in case of deacons in East and West. *Cf.* additional note B.

[2] "Under the *Mafora*" or "short *veil*, covering the head and neck, and flowing down upon the shoulders" (Rob.). Thus the stole would be partly hidden (*cf.* the opening rubric of the Latin form in Muratori), just as in early times it was worn by deacons under the planet or dalmatic (*vide* Duchesne, *Origines*, 390-394, Eng. tr.; *Ord. Rom.* viii., ix.).

[3] Φέρων ἔμπροσθεν τὰς δύο ἀρχάς: *Perhaps* this rubric may be illustrated by Wordsworth's description (*M. G.*, 296 *n.*) of an old wall-painting of "a bishop stretching his right hand over the right shoulder of a young woman" who "stands with her back or right side towards him, and holds in her two hands what is probably the maforium."

FORMS—*Continued.*

		II. Western.	
Rationale.		*Italy.*	*North of France*
Eastern.	*Western.*		
5. Investiture with stole.	with stole,	*Then let the bishop put the stole* (orarium) *on her neck, saying this antiphon :* With the garment (stola) of joyfulness the Lord clothe thee, etc.[4]	
	(? Salutations)		
	veil,	*Let her put the veil on her own head in the presence of all, having received it from the altar, with the antiphon :* To Him I am betrothed,[5] etc. *Prayer :* We beseech Thee, O Lord, graciously to hear the prayers of Thy handmaid, that, having taken to herself the grace of chastity, with Thy help she may keep it: through, etc.[6]	
	ring,	*On giving the ring :* Receive the ring of Faith, the signet of the Holy Spirit, that thou mayest be called the Spouse of Christ, if thou shalt faithfully serve Him.	
	wreath.	*On [giving] the wreath :* Receive the sign of Christ on the head, that thou mayest become His wife; and, if thou abide in Him, mayest be crowned for evermore: *those*	

[4] *Cf.* in Ordination of Priests, "Stola innocentiæ induat te Dominus" (Ron Sarum, etc.) ✠ "Pax tecum. *R.* Et cum spiritu tuo" (Sarum) or with *R.* "Deo gratias (Exon.). Perhaps the "etc." in the text implies that something like "Pax tecum with *R.* followed here—this would be the mutual *salutation* of the bishop and t newly ordained—a quite usual feature at this point in old Eastern and Weste rites.

[5] "Ipsi sum desponsata" ["cui angeli serviunt, cuius pulchritudinem sol et lu mirantur"]:—sung after receiving ring in the "Benedictio et Consecratio Virginum of Roman Pontifical.

[6] "Preces famulæ tuæ . . .":=Collect in one of the Masses for an "Ancilla De (on anniversary of profession) (*Gelas. Sacr.*, p. 160).

I. EASTERN.

Constantinople.		*Nestorian.*
		Then they begin this Psalm to [*the tune*] GIORA: Shepherd of Israel, hearken, etc.[1] *And they pray,* Strengthen, O Lord, Thy handmaid with Thy grace, and uphold her with Thy compassion to do and fulfil always Thy supreme will, Thou Lord of all. *Another* [*prayer*].—Make Thy handmaid worthy, O Lord, by Thy grace to tremble at Thy word, and to dread Thy sentence, and to be ever a dwelling for Thy glorious Trinity, Thou Lord of all. *And he closes with* Glory and Thanksgiving. *And he charges her that she be without pride.*
And then the deacon, who stands in the ambon, says: Having made mention of all the saints, etc. [*Liturgy continued as far as Communion.*]		

[1] Ps. lxxx.

FORMS—*Continued.*

Rationale.		II. Western.	
Eastern.	*Western.*	*Italy.*	*North of France.*
		who stand round proceeding With His ring, etc. *Prayer:* We beseech Thee, O Lord, bring Thy handmaid to pardon by the aid of her godly devotion, that she may be worthy to be cleansed from all the defilement of her offences, and that, reconciled to Thee through Christ, she may behold the kindness of Thy countenance and receive remission of all her sins; and that Thou of Thy clemency mayest suspend from her the severity of Thy judgment, and of Thy goodness mayest pour on her the clemency of Thy mercy, through, etc.	
(Ordination ends.)			
(Liturgy resumed.)	(Mass resumed.) Gospel, John iii. 27-30.	*Then let the Gospel according to Matthew*[2] *be performed*:[3] At that time, John answered and said: A man cannot receive, etc., *as far as* but I must decrease.	
	Offertory.	*After the Gospel let her make her offering into the hands of the bishop, in the rank of the veiled (virgins).* (Mass continues.)	
	Episcopal Benediction.	*Benediction:* Bless, O Lord, this Thine handmaid, who hath been purchased by the precious Blood of Thy Son. *Answer:* Amen.	*Episcopal Benediction at the ordination of a deaconess.* May Almighty God, by the intercession of His holy Virgins, grant you His blessing, He who hath willed to triumph over the an-

[2] Matthew is a manifest blunder.

[3] "Imponatur" (*cf. supra*, p. 227).

I. EASTERN.

Constantinople.		*Nestorian.*
	But at the time of the participation, next to the deacons he communicates her with the Holy Mysteries.	
After she has partaken of the Holy Body and the Holy Blood, the archbishop gives her the Holy Chalice, which she receives and puts back on the Holy Table.	*Then she receives the chalice from the bishop's hand, and hands it to no one, but immediately places it on the Holy Table.*	

FORMS—*Continued.*

Rationale.		II. Western.	
Eastern.	*Western.*	*Italy.*	*North of France.*
			cient foe by means of women. Amen.
		May she attain the grace of Thy benediction, which she desires; and without stumbling show forth unto Thy majesty a worthy service. *Answer:* Amen.	And may He who hath willed to confer on them fruit an hundredfold, and the glory of virginity, and the strife of martyrdom, grant you cleansing from the filth of vice, and adornment with the lamps of virtue. Amen.
		May she fulfil the course of her life without any stains of offences, and with good deeds overcome the enemy. *Answer:* Amen.	That with the oil of virtues the lamps of sinners may be so replenished, that with them ye may be able to enter the chamber of the heavenly bridegroom.
		Which may He, etc.	Which may He [grant, whose kingdom, etc.]. Amen. The Blessing [of God the Father, etc.].
	(Communio) Ps. ii. 11 *f.*	*Let the choir say:* Serve the Lord with fear, etc.	
	(Postcommunio)	*Prayer:* O God, the teacher of all good works, purify the heart of Thine handmaid, that Thou mayest find nothing in her that thou canst punish but only what Thou canst crown, through, etc.	
Communion.	Communion.	*Let that deaconess moreover communicate in the mysteries.*	

B.—MODERN ENGLISH DIOCESAN

1 *Durham.*	2 *Exeter.*	3 *East London.*	4 *London.*	5 *Newcastle.*	6 *Rochester and Southwark.*
SERVICE FOR THE ORDINATION OF A DEACONESS.	SERVICE FOR THE ADMISSION OF A DEACONESS.	ORDINATION OF A DEACONESS.	SERVICE FOR THE ADMISSION OF A DEACONESS TO HER OFFICE.	ORDER OF SERVICE TO BE USED AT THE SETTING APART OF N..... FOR THE OFFICE OF DEACONESS.	ORDER OF SERVICE FOR THE SETTING APART OF A DEACONESS.
	N.B.—It is expedient that this Service be used	*The Service*			*This Service may be used*
	immediately after the Celebration of Holy Communion.	*follows, not always immediately, a Celebration of the Holy Eucharist,*	*After the Nicene*		*Creed at Holy Communion.*

Variants in right-hand column of London (4*) are in manuscript.

THE FORMS fall into two divisions: (i.) 1-6 are slightly varying recensions of one type. Considered as *Ordination* Forms, they are unsatisfactory. *Cf. C.Q.R.*, p. 338, where the writer, evidently having only services of this type before him, says: "Nor is there anything in the form itself which suggests that a new order is being conferred. . . . This form, solemn as it is, contains nothing which might not perfectly well be used, *mutatis mutandis*, in the appointment of a lay reader or a diocesan reader, or in the admission of a lay member of a cathedral body."

(ii.) The *Llandaff* form (7) is modelled on the Anglican Ordination of Deacons, and so far is entirely on right lines. Ancient evidence and the above Greek and Latin forms bear out Matthew Blastares' statement (p. 222 *supra*) that "in the case of a deaconess everything must be done, with a few exceptions, as in the case of deacons." But the modern English Ordinal is not the best model. For its inevitable defects, as compared with the ancient Western rites, see Frere, *Hist.B.C.P.* (1901), pp. 659-661; especially p. 659: "Neither in 1550 nor in 1661 had the revisers the advantage of knowing the history of ordination in the way in which it is now known"; pp. 660 *f.*: "Those who are familiar with the ancient services will regret that the revisers abandoned the great consecratory prayer prefaced by the solemn bidding, the salutation, and the *Sursum Corda*. . . . It is now seen that the use of such a type of prayer as the central point of the service is a characteristic deep rooted in the ancient services." (*Cf.* the same author's *Some Principles of Liturgical Reform*, pp. 149 *f.*)

The ancient Eastern and Western forms for a deacon exhibit substantial harmony of structure, and one with which the above Greek and Latin forms for a deaconess agree. These all are on a line with the New Testament idea of Ordination conferred by prayer accompanied by the laying on of hands. In the proposed new form an attempt has been made to follow this primitive pattern.

In the table on the opposite page enclosures within square brackets indicate features not mentioned in the earliest evidence. *AC* = *Apostolic Constitutions*; *Euch.* = *Euchologion.*

TITLE.—(i.) *Ordination* (1, 3) as in *Euch.* and Nestorian forms. (ii.) *Setting apart* (5, 6); *cf.* Acts xiii. 2; Rom. i. 1. (iii.) *Making* (7), as in Muratori Form and Anglican Ordinal. (iv.) *Admission* (2, 4), which is unexampled in a Title, though the verb is fairly common in rubrics and formulæ; it corresponds, however, with the subsequent "N...., I *admit* thee to the office of deaconess." The choice lies between (i.) and (iii.)—(i.) is the more common.

FORMS.		C.—SUGGESTED NEW FORM.	
Rationale 1–6	7 *Llandaff.*	*Rationale.*	
	THE FORM AND MANNER OF MAKING OF DEACONESSES.		THE FORM AND MANNER OF ORDAINING DEACONESSES.
Eucharist to end of Creed (4*, 5, 6).	[*Before the Gospel*	Eucharist to end of Sequence (or Tract).	*First shall be sung or said the service for the Communion, with the Introit, Collect, Epistle, Gradual, and Sequence, as followeth.*
	in the Service for the Communion.]		*Introit* (Rom. xvi. 1 *f.*). I commend unto you Phœbe our sister, who is a deaconess of the Church: for she hath been a succourer of many, and of myself also.
			Psalm (Ps. cxxxiv.). Behold now,

Deacons.			Deaconesses.		
Eastern.	*Old Roman.*	*Gallican.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*Proposed New Form.*
[Presentation to Bishop]	*Presentation* to people	(One formula)	*Presentation* to Bishop		1. *Presentation* to Bishop and Enquiry
Proclamation [hand laid on]	Proclamation and Final Enquiry		*Proclamation:* "The Divine Grace," etc.		*Proclamation* (presentation to people) and Final Enquiry
	Presentation to Bishop				*Instruction* of Candidate
(*Bidding*)	*Bidding* and	*Bidding*	(*Bidding:* "Let us pray," etc.)		2. *Bidding* and
Silent Prayer (*AC*), or 3 *Kyries* (*Euch.*)	*Litany*, summed up in		(3 *Kyries*)	*Litany*	*Litany* (special clauses)
Prayer, with hands laid on (*AC*), or 2 *Prayers*, right hand laid on (*Euch.*)	*Collect* (hands laid on)	"*Benedictio*" (hand laid on)	*Prayer*, with hands laid on (*AC*), or 2 *Prayers*, hand laid on (*Euch.*)	"*Oratio*" "*Consecratio*"	3. *Collect* (1st pr. for ordinand), with hands laid on 4. Eucharistic Pr. of *Consecration* (hands laid on)
	Eucharistic Prayer of *Consecration*				
[Giving of *Stole*, etc.]	*Salutations* (Kiss of Peace)		Investiture with *Stole*	*Stole*, etc.	5. Investiture with *Stole*
Salutation	Vesting (*stole* and planet, etc.)	[Investiture with *Stole*, etc.]			6. *Salutation*

Position of Service.—No less than seven alternatives are given in the above series of forms: (*a*) After the Eucharist (2, 3); (*b*) before Mattins or Evensong (2);

B.—MODERN ENGLISH DIOCESAN

1 *Durham.*	2 *Exeter.*	3 *East London.*	4 *London.*	5 *Newcastle.*	6 *Rochester and Southwark.*
	Nevertheless, if occasion so require, it may be used immediately after Mattins or Evensong, or else after the third Collect. *If this service is used at the time of Holy Communion, a proper Epistle and Gospel may be used; if at Mattins or Evensong, Proper Psalms and Lesson; as follows:*	*at which*			
	Epistle: 1 Cor. xiii. *or* Phil. ii. 1-11.	*the* Epistle *is* 1 Cor. xiii. *or* Phil. ii. 1-11,			* Epistle: Phil. ii. 1-11.
	Gospel: Luke xii. 32-40, *or* xxiv. 1-11.	*and the* Gospel, Luke xii. 32-40, *or* xxiv. 1-11.			Gospel: Luke xii. 32-40.*
	Psalms: one or more of the following:				

- Omitted in separate Rochester form (R).

(*c*) after the third Collect (2); (*d*) " at the time of Holy Communion " (2); (*e*) after the Nicene Creed at Holy Communion (4*, 5, 6); (*f*) before the Gospel (7); (*g*) no indication at all is given (1, 4).

The variety of choice in Form 2. I can only parallel with a rubric in the Nestorian Ordinal (Badger, ii. 322). All other precedents require orders [except the minor orders (Rom. Pont.)] to be conferred *during* the Eucharist. The position " after the Nicene Creed " has Nestorian authority (Badger, *loc. cit.*), but in the Greek *Euchologion* the deacon is ordained after the Great Intercession (and so the deaconess in the above Constantinople form). The Llandaff direction " *before the Gospel* " is the only one that agrees with the general Western position for the deacon (usually after Epistle and Gradual or Tract—immediately after Epistle in Roman Pontifical), and with the Latin form for a deaconess in Muratori. This, therefore, should be adopted.

The Day.—The Western rule for major orders is " on an *Ember Saturday*," while minor orders were conferred at any time of year (Frere, *Hist.B.C.P.*, 652, *n.* 2). The English Canon 31 restricts ordination to " the *Sundays* immediately following *Jejunia quatuor temporum*," to which the Preface to the Ordinal (1661) adds: " Or else, on urgent occasion, upon some other Sunday or Holy Day."

The Mass is always that of the day in the mediæval Ordinals, except that Exon. (as the modern Roman Pontifical) appended to the Collect for the day the " Oratio

FORMS—*Continued.*		C.—SUGGESTED NEW FORM—*Continued.*	
Rationale 1–6	7 *Llandaff.*	*Rationale.*	
			praise the LORD: all ye servants of the LORD; Ye that by night stand in the house of the LORD: even in the courts of the house of our God. Lift up your hands in the sanctuary: and praise the LORD. The LORD, that made heaven and earth: give thee blessing out of Sion. Glory, etc. *R.* As it was, etc.[1] I commend unto you, etc. *Then the bishop shall say:* The Lord be with you. *R.* And with thy spirit. *Bishop.* Let us pray. *Collect.* Hearken, O Lord, we beseech Thee, to our suppliant prayers, and guard with Thy continual defence those who serve Thee with devotion of heart; that we being hindered by no confusions, may ever in our ministries to Thee render that service which is perfect freedom: through, etc.[2] *Epistle* (Phil. ii. 1-11). Brethren: If there be any consolation . . . to the glory of God the Father.[3] *Gradual* (Luke x. 42). Mary

pro ordinandis *Exaudi quæsumus Domine supplicum preces,*" etc. (adopted in proposed form), derived from *Leon.* and *Gelas.*, which have other propers also. The English Ordinal of 1550 directs "the Communion of the day," except for a proper Epistle; in 1662 a proper Collect, Epistle, and Gospel were appointed.

Thus it is more in accord with later English practice (as well as with the old Latin sacramentaries) to have propers. The Mass in Muratori does not help us, for reasons already stated. The above diocesan forms give no *Collect* (which, however, can be got from *Leon.* and *Gelas.*), but a suitable *Epistle* (Phil. ii. 1-11) and *Gospel* (Luke xii. 32-40) are prescribed in 2, 3, and 6. One of the appointed lessons in Form 2 has suggested an Introit. The 1550 Ordinal prescribes for Introit (when deacons and priests are ordained at one time) Ps. xl. or cxxxii. or cxxxv; Form 2 names proper Psalms xxiii., xli., lxii., lxxxiv.: from among these perhaps suitable Introits, etc., might be built up, but I have not found them particularly suggestive. Form 3 suggests an appropriate *sequence*, and the Prayer-Book an *Offertory Sentence*. The rest of the propers I have mostly invented.

[1] Ps. cxxxiv. (Introit for Purification, in Prayer-Book, 1549).
[2] *Leon.*, 110. *Gelas.*, 29. Pont. Exon. Pont. Rom.
[3] Forms 2, 3, 6.

B.—MODERN ENGLISH DIOCESAN

1 *Durham.*	2 *Exeter.*	3 *East London.*	4 *London.*	5 *Newcastle.*	6 *Rochester and Southwark.*
	xxiii., xli., lxii., lxxxiv. Lesson: Rom. xvi. *or* Phil. iv.				

FORMS—*Continued.*		C.—SUGGESTED NEW FORM—*Continued.*	
Rationale 1–6	7 *Llandaff.*	*Rationale.*	
			hath chosen the good part: which shall not be taken away from her. *Verse* (Ps. lxxxiv. 10). For one day in Thy courts: is better than a thousand. Alleluia, alleluia. *V.* (Ps. lxxxiv. 10). I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God: than to dwell in the tents of ungodliness. *Sequence.*[1] O daughters blest of Galilee, With Jesus chose ye well to be, Thrice happy holy company. Oh joy, to see that Master dear ! Oh joy, to live with Him so near ! Oh joy, that gentle voice to hear ! Oh, more than joy, to that dear Lord, In purest, deepest love adored, All lowly service to afford ! Yea, happy was your lot to bring, In loyal homage to your King, Each free and gracious offering. O Jesus, throned above the height, Adoring troops of angels bright Wait on Thy bidding day and night. Thy sacred form we cannot see, Yet, Lord, these hands may render Thee Each lowly act of charity. For while 'mid want and woe we move, And tend Thy poor in gentle love, We minister to Thee above. O gracious Jesu, we confess Our poor cold love, our nothingness; Yet Thou wilt own, and Thou wilt bless. Amen. Alleluia.

[1] Form 3 ("The Deaconesses' Hymn," written by Bishop Walsham How).

B.—MODERN ENGLISH DIOCESAN

1 *Durham.*	2 *Exeter.*	3 *East London.*	4 *London.*	5 *Newcastle.*	6 *Rochester and Southwark.*
		The bishop having come to the Holy Table,			
The "Veni Creator" shall be sung	*The "Veni Creator" having been sung or said,*	*The "Veni Creator" is sung,*	*The "Veni Creator" having been sung or said,*		
		the congregation standing, those to be ordained kneeling.			
Come, Holy Ghost, . . .		Come, Holy Ghost, . . .			
The bishop, standing at the Holy Table,	*The bishop, standing at the Holy Table,*	*Then the bishop*	*The bishop, standing at the altar,*		*The bishop, standing at the Holy Table,*
shall say: The Lord be with you. *R.* And with thy spirit. Let us pray. *Our Father . . . For ever and ever. Amen.**					
Then, all standing, the bishop shall say:				*the bishop shall say:*	*shall say:*
Dearly beloved, in the Primitive Church there was a custom to admit, *as it seems,*† publicly, and in the sight of the congregation, *and*‡ by the authority of the bishop, women of godly life and conversation, to be deaconesses or servants of the Church, and we are here met together that we may receive *her* who *is* now presented to us to be admitted into this ancient order; therefore I ask your humble supplications to Almighty God, that He may so grant *her* His grace, that *she* may faithfully and wisely perform that ministry and office which shall hereby be entrusted to *her;* for which purpose silence *shall*§ be kept for a space.					*Silent Prayer.*
			The "Veni Creator" shall be sung.		

* Our Father, etc. | * Our Father, etc. | † Om. ‡ Om. § will. | † Om. ‡ Om. § will.

"Veni Creator" is not used in Deacon's Ordination in Latin or English Ordinals, and should therefore be omitted.

"Our Father . . ." *Cf.* Nestorian form (p. 226, *supra*).

"Dearly beloved . . ." This address divides into—

(1) Instruction of People, an "apologia" for ordaining deaconesses. *Cf.* the much longer one in Form 7. If it is desirable to retain this feature, it would be better to throw it into the form of a Preface (*cf.* Anglican Ordinal), or include it in the Instruction of the Candidate.

(2) Proclamation and Bidding, which followed as they are by Silent Prayer and Collect give an order of parts quite on primitive lines. The early position of the Proclamation is in accord with the old Roman rite, but there the proclamation has been

FORMS—*Continued.*		C.—SUGGESTED NEW FORM—*Continued.*	
Rationale 1–6	7 *Llandaff.*	*Rationale.*	
			(¶ *Between Septuagesima and Easter, the* Alleluias, Verse, *and* Sequence *are omitted; and instead thereof* Ps. xl. 11-14 *may be used as the* Tract.]
(Ordination Rite begins.)		(Ordination Rite begins.)	
" Veni Creator " (1-4)			
" Our Father "(1-4).			
Instruction of people.			
Proclamation. Bidding.			
Silent Prayer.			

made on a previous day (*cf.* Table, p. 241). In the rite itself the Proclamation, etc., should *follow* the Presentation to the bishop. The *C.Q.R.* writer has fallen foul on the unhappily worded " we are . . . met together that we may receive her who *is now presented* to us " (p. 336, *n.* 4: " Oddly enough, this strange exhortation *precedes* the presentation of the candidates to the Bishop!"). The slip is easily corrected [read " who is now *to be* presented "], but the order needs correction.

The Collect seems to be used merely as a preliminary prayer. With the sequence of parts (Bidding—Silent Prayer—Collect) ends the resemblance to the ancient rites, in which the Collect is accompanied by laying on of hands and is part of the " form " of ordination. But " Prevent us . . ." would hardly be suitable as a " form " of ordination.

B.—MODERN ENGLISH DIOCESAN

1 *Durham.*	2 *Exeter.*	3 *East London.*	4 *London.*	5 *Newcastle.*	6 *Rochester and Southwark.*
Then shall this Prayer be said : Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings . . . through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*					
Then the Canon Missioner (or some	*Then the Candidate standing, the "Chaplain"* of the Home other person*	*Here the Congregation shall stand, and the Chaplain of the Community appointed*	*Then the Chaplain of the Home thereto)*	*Candidate standing, the Warden*	
		shall present unto the bishop			
		the person to be admitted to the office of deaconess, saying :			
Reverend Father in God, I present unto you this person to be admitted *as*† deaconess.					
Bishop. Has *the*‡ person whom you present unto us been found meet, both for skill in womanly ministrations and for godly life and conversation, to exercise this office ?					
Answer. I think *her*§ so to be.					

* Warden (MS.).

† Om. ‡ this. § Not italics.

† Om. § Not italics.

FORMS—*Continued.*		C.—SUGGESTED NEW FORM—*Continued.*	
Rationale 1–6	7 *Llandaff.*	*Rationale.*	
Collect.			
Presentation	*First* *the warden,* *chaplain,* *or his deputy,* *shall present unto the bishop (sitting in his chair near to the Holy Table) before the Gospel in the Service for the Communion, such as desire to be ordained deaconesses,*	1. (Introduction) Presentation to bishop.	*And before the Gospel,* *the* {*warden,* *chaplain,*} *or his deputy,* *shall present unto the bishop (sitting in his chair before the* {*Altar* *Holy Table*} *the* person *that* desires *to be ordained* deaconess (she *being habited agreeably to her future office, and carrying her stole on her left arm*),[1]
	saying these words, Reverend Father in God, I present unto you this person present to be admitted deaconess.		*saying these words,* Reverend Father in God, I present unto you *this person* present to be admitted *deaconess.*
and Final Enquiry.	*The bishop.* Take heed that the person whom ye present unto us be apt and meet, for her learning and godly conversation, to exercise her ministry duly, to the honour of God, and the edifying of His Church.	and Enquiry.	*The bishop.* Take heed that *the person* whom ye present unto us be apt and meet, for *her* learning and godly conversation, to exercise *her* ministry duly, to the honour of God, and the edifying of His Church.
	The warden shall answer : I have enquired of her, and also examined her, and think her so to be.		*The* {*warden* *chaplain*} *shall answer :* I have enquired of *her,* and also examined *her,* and think *her* so to be.
			Then the bishop shall say unto the people :
		Proclamation (presentation to people).	[2] Dearly beloved, we are here met together that we may receive *her* who *is* now presented to us to be admitted into the ancient order of deaconesses [or servants] of

[1] *Cf.* " decently habited " (Anglican Ordinal), also M. Blastares and the Gallican " Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiqua " (see above, p. 224 and note). For the stole *cf. Ord. Rom.* viii., ix.; Roman Pontifical, etc.

[2] Forms 1-6.

B.—MODERN ENGLISH DIOCESAN

1 *Durham.*	2 *Exeter.*	3 *East London.*	4 *London.*	5 *Newcastle.*	6 *Rochester and Southwark.*

[1] The Instruction (apart from the apologetic element) in this long address had better be included in the Instruction of the Candidate.

[2] Ordination of deacons.

[3] Ordination of priests.

[4] *Cf.* the Exeter and Roman Pontificals for the position in the rite here assigned

FORMS—*Continued.*		C.—SUGGESTED NEW FORM—*Continued.*	
Rationale 1–6	7 *Llandaff.*	*Rationale.*	
		and Final Enquiry (*Si Quis*).	the Church. [2] Therefore, if there be any of you who knoweth any impediment, or notable crime, in *this person* presented to be ordained *deaconess*, for the which she ought not to be admitted to that office, let him come forth in the Name of God, and show what the crime or impediment is. [2] *And if any great crime or impediment be objected, the bishop shall surcease from ordering that person, until such time as the party accused shall be found clear of the crime.*
	[*Instruction of people.*] *Then the bishop shall say unto the people,* [1] Dearly beloved brethren, you have all read in Holy Scripture	Instruction of Candidate.	[3] *Then the bishop shall say unto* her *that* is *to be ordered as hereafter followeth :* [4 5] Dearly beloved in the Lord, who are minded to take upon you this service in the Church of God, we exhort you, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you have in remembrance, into how high a dignity, and to how weighty a charge you are called :[6] for it appertaineth to the office of a deaconess to search for the sick, poor, and impotent people of the parish, to intimate their estates, names, and places where they dwell, unto the curate, that by his exhortation they may be relieved with the alms of the parishioners or others. And furthermore, in the absence and by permission of the priest or deacon, to instruct the youth in the Church Catechism. You have read in Holy Scripture how[7] the Eternal God filled with the Spirit Miriam and Deborah and Hannah and Huldah, and in the tabernacle of witness and in the temple appointed the

to the Instruction; for the matter, and length, *cf.* the Roman and Winchester Pontificals and the Anglican Ordination of Priests.

[5] Forms 1-6 (*cf.* Pont. Rom.) Ordination of priests

[6] Form 7.

[7] *Apostolic Constitutions.*

B.—MODERN ENGLISH DIOCESAN

1 *Durham.*	2 *Exeter.*	3 *East London.*	4 *London.*	5 *Newcastle.*	6 *Rochester and Southwark.*

FORMS—*Continued.*		C.—SUGGESTED NEW FORM—*Continued.*	
Rationale 1–6	7 *Llandaff.*	*Rationale.*	
	how in the beginning of of the Gospel holy women addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints, ministering first to the Lord Jesus in the days of His flesh, and after His Ascension ministering to His Church. You all know the testimony which St. Paul bears to the help which he received in his apostolic labours from Priscilla, his helper in Christ Jesus, and from Mary, who bestowed much labour upon him, and from the beloved Persis, which laboured much in the Lord, and from other faithful and holy women. You all well remember too the name of Phœbe, the servant or deaconess of the Church of Cenchrea, of whom the same apostle said, She hath been a succourer of many, and of myself also. It is certain, therefore, from these and other testimonies of Holy Writ, that there were deaconesses in the churches founded and tended by the apostles of Christ; and it is no less certain that the same office continued in the Church several hundred years after the apostles were dead.		women-guardians of His holy gates. [1] You have read too how in the beginning of the Gospel holy women addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints, ministering first to the Lord Jesus in the days of His flesh, and after His Ascension ministering to His Church. You know the testimony which St. Paul bears to the help which he received in his apostolic labours from Priscilla, his helper in Christ Jesus, and from Mary, who bestowed much labour upon him, and from the beloved Persis, which laboured much in the Lord, and from other faithful and holy women. You well remember too the name of Phœbe, the servant or deaconess of the Church of Cenchreæ, of whom the same apostle said, She hath been a succourer of many, and of myself also.
	Doubt not, therefore, that our Lord Jesus Christ will accept the		Doubt not, therefore, that our Lord Jesus Christ will accept the services of women who love Him,

[1] Form 7.

B.—MODERN ENGLISH DIOCESAN

1 *Durham.*	2 *Exeter.*	3 *East London.*	4 *London.*	5 *Newcastle.*	6 *Rochester and Southwark.*

[1] Forms 1-6 (*vide* additional note at the end), *cf.* p. 268. [2] *Cf.* Roman Pontifical.

FORMS—*Continued.*		C.—SUGGESTED NEW FORM—*Continued.*	
Rationale 1–6	7 *Llandaff.*	*Rationale.*	
	services of women who love Him, and who desire to assist His ministers in feeding and nurturing His flock. Doubt not that it is according to His will, and the true order of His Church, that women should be helpers to the clergy, and that in the holy office of deaconesses they should nurse the sick, comfort the afflicted, supply the wants of the poor and needy, teach the ignorant, win the careless, and lovingly help to bring back the wanderers to the Shepherd and Bishop of souls.		and who desire to assist His ministers in feeding and nurturing His flock. Doubt not that it is according to His will, and the true order of His Church, that women should be helpers to the clergy, and that in the holy office of deaconesses they should nurse the sick, comfort the afflicted, supply the wants of the poor and needy, teach the ignorant, win the careless, and lovingly help to bring back the wanderers to the Shepherd and Bishop of souls.
	[*Proclamation.*] To which holy office our sister desires now to be admitted. She has been well commended to us as apt and meet for such ministration. And we think it will be for the edifying of the Church, and for the comfort of souls for whom Christ died, that we so admit her.		[1] Take heed that you be obedient to them who are over you in the Lord, cheerfully and faithfully performing the service that shall be appointed to you; and, inasmuch as this office is not to be lightly undertaken, that you give yourself to the work of the Lord as deaconess in singleness of heart: [2] Which may Almighty God, who has called you to serve Him in this holy life, give you the power to fulfil acceptably, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.[3]

[3] Or, *Amen*, as Forms 1-4, and Roman Pontifical.

B.—MODERN ENGLISH DIOCESAN

1 *Durham.*	2 *Exeter.*	3 *East London.*	4 *London.*	5 *Newcastle.*	6 *Rochester and Southwark.*

[1] *Oremus dilectissimi* . . . (Old Roman Ordination of Deacons). [2] Forms 1–6

FORMS—*Continued.*		C.—SUGGESTED NEW FORM—*Continued.*	
Rationale 1-6	7 *Llandaff.*	*Rationale.*	
	But, you know, brethren, that she will not be sufficient for such a ministry without the special grace of God. She will need the continual help of God's Holy Spirit to make her wise, humble, loving, and gentle. He alone can give her strength and patience to work and labour and pray without ceasing, looking for her reward in heaven. He only can sustain her faith amidst the hindrances and discouragements that may beset her. Let us, therefore, [*Bidding.*] with one accord make our supplication to Almighty God on her behalf, that He will give her grace to fulfil this ministry to the glory of Christ, and to the comfort of His Church.	2. Bidding.	*Then, the bishop, standing, shall commend* her *that* is *to be ordered to the prayers of the congregation :* [1] Dearly beloved brethren, let us with one accord make our humble supplications to Almighty God on behalf of *this* His *servant,* whom He has called to the order of deaconesses, that He will pour forth upon *her* the benediction of His grace,[2] that *she* may faithfully and wisely perform this ministry and office, to the glory of Christ and to the comfort of His Church.[3]
	Then the bishop shall commend such as shall be found meet to be ordered to the prayers of the congregation,	Litany,	[4] *Then the bishop shall, with the clergy and people present, sing or say the Litany, as followeth* (*all kneeling*) *:* O God the Father, of heaven: . . . *Have mercy upon us,* . . . O God the Son, Redeemer . . . *Have mercy upon us,* . . . O God the Holy Ghost, proceeding . . . *Have mercy upon us,* . . . O Holy, blessed and glorious Trinity . . . *Have mercy upon us,* . . . Remember not . . . *Spare us, good Lord.*

[3] Form 7.

[4] Ordination of Deacons.

B.—MODERN ENGLISH DIOCESAN

1 *Durham.*	2 *Exeter.*	3 *East London.*	4 *London.*	5 *Newcastle.*	6 *Rochester and Southwark.*

[1] Forms 1-6.

[2] Form 3.

FORMS—*Continued.*		C.—SUGGESTED NEW FORM—*Continued.*	
Rationale 1 6	7 *Llandaff.*	*Rationale.*	
			From all evil and mischief, . . . *Good Lord, deliver us.* From all blindness of heart, . . . *Good Lord, deliver us.* From fornication . . . *Good Lord, deliver us.* From lightning and tempest, . . . *Good Lord, deliver us.* From all sedition, . . . *Good Lord, deliver us.* By the mystery of Thy . . . Incarnation, . . . *Good Lord, deliver us.* By Thine agony and bloody sweat, . . . *Good Lord, deliver us.* In all time of our tribulation, . . . *Good Lord, deliver us.* We sinners do beseech Thee . . . That it may please Thee to keep . . . Thy servant GEORGE . . . *We beseech Thee . . .* That it may please Thee to illuminate all bishops . . . *We beseech Thee . . .*
		with Special Clauses.	[1] That it may please Thee to bestow Thy heavenly benediction [2] upon all deaconesses labouring in Thy Holy Church,[3] that they may both perceive and know what things they ought to do, and also may have grace and power faithfully to fulfil the same; *We beseech Thee . .* [4] That it may please Thee to bless *this* Thy *servant*, now to be admitted to the order of deaconesses, and to pour Thy grace upon *her;* that *she* may duly execute *her* office, to the edifying of Thy Church, and the glory of Thy Holy Name; *We beseech Thee . . .* That it may please Thee to bless and keep all Thy people; . . . *We beseech Thee . . .* That it may please Thee to give us an heart to love and dread Thee, . . . *We beseech Thee . . .*

[3] Collect for Epiph. i. (*cf.* 1-6).

[4] Ordination of Deacons.

B.—MODERN ENGLISH DIOCESAN

1 *Durham.*	2 *Exeter.*	3 *East London.*	4 *London.*	5 *Newcastle.*	6 *Rochester and Southwark.*

[1] The Collect here would have been the "Form of Ordination," if ancient examples had been followed. As it is, observe that the "Form" from the *Apostolic Consitutions* is given as one of the alternative Collects.

FORMS—*Continued.*		C.—SUGGESTED NEW FORM—*Continued.*	
Rationale 1–6	7 *Llandaff.*	*Rationale.*	
			That it may please Thee to give to all Thy people increase of grace . . . That it may please Thee to bring into the way of truth . . . That it may please Thee to strengthen such as do stand, . . . That it may please Thee to succour, help, and comfort . . . That it may please Thee to preserve all that travel . . . That it may please Thee to defend, and provide for, the fatherless . . . That it may please Thee to have mercy upon all men; . . . That it may please Thee to forgive our enemies, . . . That it may please Thee to give us true repentance . . . *We beseech Thee . . .* Son of God: we beseech Thee . . . O Lamb of God, . . . *Grant us Thy peace.* O Lamb of God, . . . *Have mercy upon us.* O Christ, hear us. Lord, have mercy upon us. Christ, have mercy upon us. Lord, have mercy upon us.[2]
	and shall say this Collect following :	3. Laying on of hands,	[3] *Then the bishop, standing, shall lay his hands on the head of the person to be made deaconess, and shall say :* [*If more than one person is to be ordained, the bishop shall lay his hands severally on the head of every one of them, and then, holding his hands outstretched over them, shall say :*]
Collect.	Eternal God . . . [the prayer from *Apostoli Constitutions* (pp. 1 *ff. supra.*][1]	and Collect (first prayer for Ordinand).	[4] Hearken, O Lord, unto our prayers, and on *this* Thine *handmaid* send forth the Spirit of Thy blessing, that being enriched by Thy heavenly gift *she* may be able to attain to the grace of Thy majesty, and show forth to others

[2] *Cf.* the *Euchologion.*
[3] Forms 1-6.
[4] *Exaudi, Domine, preces nostras* . . . (see above, p. 229).

B.—MODERN ENGLISH DIOCESAN

1 *Durham.*	2 *Exeter.*	3 *East London.*	4 *London.*	5 *Newcastle.*	6 *Rochester and Southwark.*

[1] The proposed alternative rubrics here and p. 261 are, it is believed, in harmony with Western practice, both ancient and modern. *Ord. Rom.* ix. ("Pontifex stat in sede sua, singillatim imponens manus capitibus eorum, et benedicit eos") seems to direct one recitation of the Collect and Consecration Prayer over the whole group of ordinand deacons. In development from this—(*a*) in Mediæval England the bishop laid his hand on each candidate separately (+ formula "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum") and then said the old Roman prayers once over all, "*extendens manum super diaconos*" (Exeter Pontifical); (*b*) in the modern Roman Pontifical a break is made in the old "Consecratio," whereupon the bishop lays his hand on each and says, "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum," etc., to each separately, then "prosequitur . . . *extensam tenens manum dexteram*, usque in finem Præfationis." In some respects the point emerges still more clearly

FORMS—*Continued.*		C.—SUGGESTED NEW FORM—*Continued.*	
Rationale 1–6	7 *Llandaff.*	*Rationale.*	
			an ensample of good living, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. *Amen.*
		4. Eucharistic Prayer of Consecration.	*After which the bishop shall proceed, saying :* The Lord be with you. *R.* And with thy spirit. *The bishop.* Lift up your hearts. *R.* We lift them up unto the Lord. *The bishop.* Let us give thanks unto our Lord God. *R.* It is meet and right so to do.
	or this :	(hands laid on)	*Then the bishop, with his hands laid upon the head of the person who is being ordained, shall say :* [1] [*If more than one person is being ordained, the bishop shall hold his hands outstretched over them, and shall say*]
	O Almighty God,		It is very meet . . . Everlasting God; [2] who madest all things by the might of Thy word, and by Thy command upholdest all the beings which Thy decree created; [3] the Maker of man and woman, [4] who hast hallowed woman by the birth of Thy Only-begotten Son our God from a virgin after the flesh, and who hast given the grace and visitation of the Holy Spirit not to men only but to women also; [5] who dost not reject women who offer themselves in accordance with the divine will to minister unto Thee, but didst give the grace of Thy ministry even unto Phœbe. [6] Look
	who art the giver of all spiritual grace, and the Author of everlasting life, who hast purchased to Thyself an universal Church by the precious Blood of Thy dear Son, look mercifully with		

in the Ordination of Priests, where the *silent* imposition of the bishop's hand on the head of each is followed by the general recitation of the old prayers "super presbyteros" (Exeter), and the wording of the modern Roman Pontifical seems distinctly reminiscent of *Ord. Rom.* ix. ("*Pontifex stans ante faldistorium suum . . . imponit* simul *utramque manum* super caput cuiuslibet ordinandi successive. . . . Quo facto, tam Pontifex, quam sacerdotes, *tenent manus dexteras extensas super illos.* Et Pontifex . . . dicit :"). It may be added that the custom of the Orthodox Church (as the late Mr. W. J. Birkbeck kindly informed me) is and has been never to ordain more than one of each order at one Liturgy.

[2] Nestorian (*cf.* Roman Consecration of Deacons).
[3] *AC.* [4] *Euch.* 1. [5] *Euch.* 2. [6] *AC, Euch.* 1.

B.—MODERN ENGLISH DIOCESAN

1 *Durham.*	2 *Exeter.*	3 *East London.*	4 *London.*	5 *Newcastle.*	6 *Rochester and Southwark.*

[1] *AC.* [2] *Euch.* 2. [3] *Euch.* 1. [4] *AC,*
[5] *Euch.* 1. [6] Muratori. [7] *Euch.* 2. [8] Roman Pontifical.
[9] These two prayers, especially the second (the Eucharistic Prayer of Consecration) constitute the "Form" of Ordination, according to the ancient rites, which agree with the New Testament in regarding the essence of Ordination as consisting in Prayer

FORMS—*Continued.*		C.—SUGGESTED NEW FORM—*Continued.*	
Rationale 1–6	7 *Llandaff.*	*Rationale.*	
	Thy favour upon this Thy handmaid,		now, O Lord, on *this* Thy *handmaid,* [1] who *is* appointed unto the office of [a] deaconess, [2] *desireth* to offer *herself* to Thee and to fulfil the grace of the ministry; [3] Send down on *her* the rich gift of Thy Holy Spirit,[4] that *she* may worthily accomplish the work of the ministry now committed unto *her ;* [5] Keep *her* in Thy true faith, and grant to *her* always to fulfil *her* office in blameless conversation, according to Thy good pleasure;[6] Grant that there may be in *her* mercy and vigour, humility and bountifulness, freedom and uprightness, kindliness and soberness; and [7] make Thy *servant* perfect, that *she,* standing at the judgment seat of Thy Christ, may receive the reward of *her* good conversation: [8] through the same Jesus Christ Thy Son our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God, world without end. *Amen.*[9]
	and so fill her with all spiritual benediction and grace, that she may be a succourer of many in Thy Holy Church, and be a comforter of Thy saints, and continuing ever stable and strong in the faith, may		
	at length attain to Thy Heavenly Kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*		
	[*Examination of Candidate.*]		
	Then the bishop, sitting in his chair, shall examine every one of them that are to be ordered, in the presence of the people, after this manner following.		
	Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this office and ministration, to serve God for the promoting of His glory, and the edifying of His people ?		
	Answer. I trust so.		
	The bishop. Do you think that you are truly called according to the will of our Lord Jesus		

accompanied by imposition of hands. Such formulæ as the Prayer-Book, "Take thou authority," etc. ("Accipe potestatem"—used of the Tradition of Instruments), or "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum," are due to mediæval and unprimitive theories as to the "form" of Ordination. The Blessing ✠ Formula "I admit thee," etc. (1-6) are, so far as I know, unprecedented in an Ordination Rite.

B.—MODERN ENGLISH DIOCESAN

1 *Durham.*	2 *Exeter.*	3 *East London.*	4 *London.*	5 *Newcastle.*	6 *Rochester and Southwark.*

Then shall the bishop say to the candidate :

Dearly beloved in the Lord, who are minded to take upon you this service in the Church of God, have you duly considered how weighty an undertaking this is, and are you prepared with a willing mind to take upon you this office of ministering to the suffering and needy, and in all humility and godly submission to help the ministers of God's Word and Sacraments ?

Answer. I have so considered it, and will do so by the help of God.

The Examination of deacons (and priests) was a new feature in the Ordinal of 1550, based no doubt on the precedent (in the mediæval " Consecratio Episcoporum ") of the examination of a bishop-elect at the outset of the rite, before the beginning of the Mass [also on the influence of Bucer (Frere, 664)]. The Instruction of Deacons (longer

FORMS—*Continued.*		C.—SUGGESTED NEW FORM—*Continued.*	
Rationale 1–6	7 *Llandaff.*	*Rationale.*	
	Christ to the ministry of the Church ? *Answer.* I think so. *The bishop.* Do you unfeignedly believe all the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments ? *Answer.* I do believe them. *The bishop.* Will you diligently read the same unto the people to whom you shall be called to minister ? *Answer.* I will. [*Instruction.*]		
Examination of Candidate.	*The bishop.* It appertaineth to the office of a deaconess to search for the sick, poor, and impotent people of the parish, to intimate their estates, names, and places where they dwell, unto the curate, that by his exhortation they may be relieved with the alms of the parishioners or others. And furthermore, in the absence and by permission of the priest or deacon, to instruct the youth in the Church Catechism. Will you do this gladly and willingly ? *Answer.* I will so do, by the help of God. *The bishop.* Will you apply all your diligence to frame and fashion your life according to the doctrine of Christ, and make yourself, as much as in you lieth, an wholesome ex-		

than the mediæval form) is curiously sandwiched into the Examination, as above in Form 7. It is probably better to return to the older *Instruction* of Candidate instead of Examination. I have put it after the Proclamation and Final Enquiry (pp. 251 *ff.*), following the example of the Exeter and modern Roman Pontificals.

B.—MODERN ENGLISH DIOCESAN

1 *Durham.*	2 *Exeter.*	3 *East London.*	4 *London.*	5 *Newcastle.*	6 *Rochester and Southwark.*
Bishop. Will you be obedient to them who are over you in the Lord, cheerfully and faithfully performing the service that shall be appointed to you?					
Answer. I will by the help of God.					
Bishop. Inasmuch as this office is not to be lightly undertaken, is it your desire to give yourself to the work of the Lord as deaconess in singleness of heart? *Answer.* I desire to do so by the help of God. *Then shall the Candidate kneel "at the altar rails,"* and the bishop shall say:* Almighty God, who has called you to serve Him in this holy life, give you the power to fulfil this your service acceptably, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*†					
					Then shall be sung VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS, *the person to be set apart still kneeling, and all others standing.*
					Veni, Creator Spiritus. Come, Holy Ghost . . .
The bishop shall then lay his hands on the head of the person to be made					
deaconess, and solemnly bless her, after the following manner:					*saying:*
God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, bless, preserve, and sanctify you; and so fill you with all spiritual benediction and grace, with all faith, wisdom, and humility, that you may serve before Him to the glory of His great Name, and to the benefit of His Church and people; and make you faithful unto death, and give you the crown of everlasting life. *Amen.*† N . . .,‡ I admit thee to the office of deaconess, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.*†					

					‖ Not italics.
				* Om. † Not italics. ‡ Or M.	* Om. † Not italics. ‡ Or M.

ORDINATION FORMULÆ.—According to *C.Q.R.* (p. 338 *n.*) the above order (1) Blessing, (2) Admission formula is reversed in Ely diocese, "while in the Winchester form the blessing is omitted, and a prayer for the candidates precedes the laying on of hands."

FORMS—*Continued.*		C.—SUGGESTED NEW FORM—*Continued.*	
Rationale 1–6	7 *Llandaff.*	*Rationale.*	
	ample of the flock of Christ ? *Answer.* I will so do, the Lord being my helper. *The bishop.* Will you reverently obey your ordinary, and them to whom the charge and government over you is committed, following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions ? *Answer.* I will endeavour myself, the Lord being my helper.		
Imposition of hands,	*Then the bishop, laying his hands severally upon the head of every one of them, humbly kneeling before him, shall say :*		
Blessing, and			
Admission.	[*and Charge*] Take thou authority to execute the office of a deaconess in the Church of God committed unto thee: in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.		

This is much better, as including a prayer, but the imposition of hands should *accompany* that prayer. The order of 1-6 is probably preferable to that of Ely, but the Blessing is hardly the same thing as the " Benedictio " (*Gallican*) or " Consecratio " of the old Western rites.

B.—MODERN ENGLISH DIOCESAN

1 *Durham.*	2 *Exeter.*	3 *East London.*	4 *London.*	5 *Newcastle.*	6 *Rochester and Southwark.*
	Then the Cross or Badge	*shall* the	*the bishop* Cross	*give*	*a Cross and Bible*
	to	*the*	*deaconess, saying:*		
	Receive and wear this Cross,* a symbol of thy profession as deaconess. Be not ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified; bear ever in thy heart the remembrance of His love who died on the Cross for thee. Amen.†				
	The deaconess then, rising from her knees, shall stand before the bishop, who shall commit her to the care of the Head-"Deaconess,"‡	*Superior,*			(*as Exeter*)
	saying:	Receive			*saying:* Receive *this deaconess*
	. . . . .	N., deaconess of the Church,	. . . . .		
	as *a fellow-helper* in your work; give *her* all encouragement and godly counsel and support; tend *her* as *a* sister	*daughter*	*sister*		(as Exeter and London)
	dearly beloved; and see that you all, in the fellowship of the Gospel, bear one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ. Amen.†				
	Then (the newly admitted deaconess kneeling as before) the bishop shall say	*Then (all kneeling)*	(*as Durham and Exeter*)		(*as Durham and Exeter*)
	Our help is in the Name of the Lord.				*Bishop.* Give Thine angels charge over *her.*
	R. Who hath made heaven and earth.				*R.* That the enemy may not approach to hurt *her.*
	Bishop. O Lord, bless thine *handmaiden.*§				*Bishop.* Keep *her* in the way of Thy commandments.
	R. And let *her* find grace in Thy sight.				*R.* That *she* may persevere to the end, serving Thee with gladness.
	Bishop. Make *her* a clean heart, O Lord.				*Bishop.* O Lord, hear our prayer.
	R. And renew a right spirit within *her.*				*R.* And let our cry come unto Thee.
	Bishop. Give *her* fulness of joy in Thy presence.				
	R. And the peace which passeth all understanding.				
	[*Bishop*]. Let us pray.				
	O God, who didst of old teach the hearts of Thy faithful people, by sending to them the light of Thy Holy Spirit, great unto *this* Thy *servant* by the same Spirit to perceive and know what things *she* ought to do, and to have grace and strength evermore				

* Or badge. † Italics. ‡ MS. correction of "sister." † Italics. § Handmaid.

COMMITTAL TO CARE OF HEAD-DEACONESS.—This is *somewhat* like the Salutations after Ordination. But it is still more like the bishop's address to abbess (committing newly consecrated virgin to her care) in Bishop Russell of Lincoln's Pontifical (Appendix to York Pontifical, p. 246, Surt. Soc.).

INVESTITURE WITH STOLE.—This may, I think, be retained ["si nomen gerit ordinis, cur non insignia . . . ferat?" (Goar)], though the modern deaconess does not (so

FORMS—*Continued.*		C.—SUGGESTED NEW FORM—*Continued.*	
Rationale 1–6	7 *Llandaff.*	*Rationale.*	
Delivery of Cross, etc. (2-6).		4. Investiture with *stole.*	[1] *Then shall the bishop put the stole round* her *neck, under the veil, bringing the two ends forward; and shall say:* [2] Receive this stole, a sign of the office of the diaconate now laid upon thee; and may the Lord clothe thee with the robe of gladness.
Committal to care of Head-[deaconess.		5. Salutations.	[3] Peace be with thee. *And she shall answer:* And with Thy spirit.
Post-Ordination Prayers.			

far) perform diaconal functions in church. *Cf. supra*, p. 223 and note on p. 223, and additional note B. The rubric is taken unchanged from the *Euchologion*.

For the first half of formula *cf.* in Ordering of Deacons: (1) "Accipe stolam immortalitatis" (Sarum, Winton.), "Accipe stolam candidam de manu Dei" (Rom.); (2) "per hoc signum vobis diaconatus officium . . . imponimus" (*Greg.*, Winton.).

[1] *Euch.* (p. 16, *supra*). [2] Rom. Sarum (*cf. Greg.*, Muratori).
[3] Sarum (*cf.* p. 235 *n*).

B.—MODERN ENGLISH DIOCESAN

1 *Durham.*	2 *Exeter.*	3 *East London.*	4 *London.*	5 *Newcastle.*	6 *Rochester and Southwark.*

to do the same; direct *her* in all times of doubt and perplexity; strengthen *her* to bear the trials of *her* faith and patience; comfort *her* in times of sorrow; cheer *her* when faint and weary in the way. May Thy love, abounding towards *her* more and more, stir up *her* heart to greater deeds of love to Thee, and to greater deeds of love to all who need *her* service. And upon all the members of our Community bestow Thy grace and heavenly benediction; enable them to bear each other's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ. Make them to know and feel their oneness in the mystical Body of Thy dear Son, so that their fellowship here in works of love may prove to them a blessed discipline, and thus prepare them at last for the society of Thy redeemed ones in heaven; through Jesus Christ our most blessed Lord and Saviour. *Amen.*

Here may follow one or more of the Prayers for deaconesses.

Then the newly admitted deaconess shall return to her place.

Hymn.

Here a hymn may be sung, after which the bishop may give an address, or read the exhortation appointed in the Office-Book, according to his discretion.

The bishop shall then give an address, or read the following exhortation:

Dearly beloved in the Lord, . . .

After the bishop's address, the following Hymn is sung:

THE DEACONESSES' HYMN.

(See p. 245.)

The Congregation will now be seated while

Then shall all the deaconesses and probationers present stand, and the bishop shall ad-

[*Then shall*[1] *all the deaconesses and probationers present stand, and the bishop shall ad-*

[1] Form 2.

FORMS—*Continued.*		C.—SUGGESTED NEW FORM—*Continued.*	
Rationale 1–6	7 *Llandaff.*	*Rationale.*	
	[*Ordination Rite ends.*]	(Ordination Rite ends.)	[1] *Then the newly ordained* deaconess *shall return to* her place.
Bishop's Address.	[*Eucharist resumed.*] *The Gospel.*	(Eucharist resumed.)	[2] *Gospel* (St. Luke xii. 32-40). Jesus said to His disciples: Fear not, little flock . . . at an hour when ye think not.

[2] Forms 2, 3, 6.

B.—MODERN ENGLISH DIOCESAN

1 *Durham.*	2 *Exeter.*	3 *East London.*	4 *London.*	5 *Newcastle.*	6 *Rochester and Southwark.*
	dress them as follows: See that ye love each other with pure hearts, fervently. Yield a ready obedience to those who are over you in the Lord. With one heart and mind strive together for the good of those committed to your care. Seek to emulate the deeds of those holy women who helped the Holy Apostles in their ministry to the poor and needy. Love not self — love God. Seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all things needful shall be added unto you; which may God grant unto for you for His dear Son's sake. *Amen.*		*dress them as follows:* See that ye love each other . . . [as Exeter] (THE BISHOP'S ADDRESS.) *Here follows the rest of the Communion Office.*		

FORMS—*Continued.*		C.—SUGGESTED NEW FORM—*Continued.*	
Rationale 1–6	7 *Llandaff.*	*Rationale.*	
	Then shall the bishop proceed in the Communion,		*Creed.*
Eucharist resumed. 4* (5, 6.)			[*Sermon.*] *Offertory* (Heb. vi. 10, Prayer-Book). God is not unrighteous, to forget your work and the love which ye showed toward His name: in that ye ministered to the saints, and still do minister.

B.—MODERN ENGLISH DIOCESAN

1 *Durham.*	2 *Exeter.*	3 *East London.*	4 *London.*	5 *Newcastle.*	6 *Rochester and Southwark.*
		After the Hymn, one or more of the following Prayers shall be said:	Let us pray.		
		I.—FOR THE EAST LONDON COMMUNITY. Grant, O Lord, we beseech Thee, that Thy blessing may rest upon all deaconesses labouring in Thy holy Church,...	Almighty and Everlasting God, . . .		
		II.—FOR DEVOTION AND FAITHFULNESS. O Almighty and Everlasting God, . . .	FOR ASSOCIATES. O Heavenly Father, . . .		
		III.—FOR MORE WORKERS. Almighty God, Lord of the harvest of souls, . . .			
The Benediction.	*The Benediction.*	✠ THE BENEDICTION.	*The Benediction.*		
God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, bless, preserve, and keep you. The Lord lift up the light of His countenance upon you. The Lord prosper the work of His hand upon you. May goodness and mercy follow you all the days of your life, and may you dwell in the House of the Lord for ever. *Amen.*					

ADDITIONAL NOTE A (pp. 255, 268): "Inasmuch as this office is not to be lightly undertaken . . . give yourself to the work of the Lord as deaconess *in singleness of heart.*' If this phrase of Forms 1-6 is intended to express the principle of the permanent diaconate, would it not be better to word it more definitely? *Vide C.Q.R.*, pp. 339-340.

ADDITIONAL NOTE B (pp. 234, 271). The rationale of putting the deaconess's stole *round her neck* is thus stated by Goar: "Adde quod non ad altaris ministerium unu tantum humero [as in the case of deacons] . . ., sed ad ornatum tantum et ad corporeæ integritatis animæque munditiam ordinatæ commendendam, et ad spiritualem

FORMS—*Continued.*		C.—SUGGESTED NEW FORM—*Continued.*	
Rationale 1-6	7 *Llandaff.*	*Rationale.*	
	[*Communion.*] *and all that are ordered shall tarry and receive the Holy Communion the same day with the bishop.*	Communion.	*Then shall the bishop proceed in the Communion, and the newly ordained* deaconess *shall receive the Holy Communion the same day with the bishop.*
	Communion (Isa. lxv. 13). Behold, my servants shall eat, and shall drink: behold my servants shall rejoice.		
	[*Post-Communion Prayers.*] *The Communion ended, after the last Collect, and immediately before the Benediction, shall be said these Collects following:* Almighty God, giver of all good things, who of Thy great goodness hast vouchsafed to accept and take *this* Thy *servant* unto the office of [a] deaconess in Thy Church; make *her*, we beseech Thee, O Lord, to be modest, humble, and constant in *her* ministration, to have a ready will to observe all spiritual discipline; that *she* having always the testimony of a good conscience, and continuing ever stable and strong in Thy Son Christ, may so well behave *herself* in this holy office, that both by *her* life and doctrine *she* may set forth Thy glory and set forward the salvation of all men; through the same Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and honour, world without end. *Amen.*		
	Prevent us, O Lord, . . . through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*		
Benediction (1-4.)	The peace of God . . . keep your hearts and minds. . . . And the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you, and remain with you always. *Amen.*		
			[1] ¶*And note that the deaconess, when she goes to church, shall wear the stole upon her neck, but in such a way that the end of the stole on either side is under her robe.*[2]

corporeamque exercitationem illam provocandam, orarium diaconicum eius utroque humero dependens a Pontifice imponitur."

[1] Muratori, *ad init.* (p. 223, *supra*).

[2] *Cf.* Duchesne, *Origines*, pp. 390-392 (English translation). The rubric in Muratori is in contrast with the Eastern custom, which according to Goar limited the wearing of the stole to the occasion of the deaconess's ordination ("stolæ diaconicæ ornatum illi *brevi tempore* concessum"—"saltem *semel*").

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY

WITH A PARALLEL SYNOPSIS

	THE FORM AND MANNER OF ORDAINING DEACONESSES.[1] [Dr. Deacon's *Complete Collection of Devotions* (1734). (Reprinted in Hall's *Fragmenta Liturgica*, vi. 293 *ff.*)]	
Election. Examination. Notice (proclamation).	*When there is occasion for a deaconess to be ordained, the faithful of the parish shall elect a proper person; notice whereof shall be given to the bishop. And if, when the person elected hath been examined by the two deacons who are to present her at the ordination, and by the bishop himself, he (after consulting with his College of Presbyters) approve of her, he shall give notice of the day of ordination (which shall always be a Lord's Day) both to the clergy of the diocese and to the faithful of the parish.*[2] Note, *that a deaconess is not to be ordained till she is forty years of age, unless upon a particular occasion, of which the bishop is to be judge.*	
	When the day appointed by the bishop is come, he, and as many of the clergy and deaconesses of the diocese as conveniently can, shall repair to the cathedral church, or to the parish church to which the deaconess-elect is to belong. And when all things are duly prepared in the church, and set in order, at the time appointed for celebrating the Holy Eucharist, before the Communion Service begins,	
Presentation.	*the elected deaconess (being decently habited) shall be presented by two deacons unto the bishop sitting in his chair near the altar, the deacons that present her saying:* Right Reverend Father in God, we present unto you this person to be admitted a deaconess.	Ordination of Deacons.

[1] *Cf. C.Q.R.*, p. 330: "The later Nonjurors were led, by their study of Christian antiquity, to desire the revival of the office. No doubt it was never used, but in Dr. Deacon's *Complete Collection of Devotions*, published in 1734, there is given 'The Form and Manner of Ordaining Deaconesses.'"

(NONJUROR) FORM.

OF OTHER MODERN FORMS.

1–6.	7.	SUGGESTED NEW FORM.
[After Holy Communion (2, 3).] Eucharist to end of Creed (4*, 5, 6).	Eucharist to end of Epistle.	Eucharist to end of Sequence (or Tract).
I. "Veni Creator." "The Lord be with you," etc. (1-4) "Our Father," etc. Instruction (of people): "Dearly beloved, in the Primitive Church . . ." Proclamation: "We are here met together . . ." Bidding: "I ask your . . . supplications . . ." Silent Prayer. "Veni Creator" (4*). Collect: "Prevent us . . ."		1. Introduction:—
II. Presentation of the Candidate to the Bishop: "Reverend Father in God, I present unto you . . ."		

[2] For the interval between the notice and the day of Ordination, *cf.* the old Roman rite, described in Duchesne, *Origines*, pp. 353 *ff.* (English translation).

	DEACON (1734).	
Enquiry,	*The bishop.* Take heed that the person whom ye present unto us be apt and meet, for her knowledge, prudence, and godly conversation, to exercise this office duly, to the honour of God, and the edifying of his Church. *The two deacons shall say:* We have enquired of her, and also examined her, and think her so to be.	
and Final Enquiry (Si Quis).	*Then the bishop shall say unto the people:* Beloved, if there be any of you, who knoweth any impediment or notable crime in this person presented to be ordained deaconess, for which she ought not to be admitted to that office, let him come forth in the name of God, and show what the crime or impediment is. *And if any great crime or impediment be objected, the bishop shall surcease from ordaining that person, until such time as the party accused shall be found clear of that crime.* *But if no great crime or impediment be objected,*	
Eucharist, to end of Creed.	*the bishop shall begin the Communion Service; in which the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel shall be as follow.* *The Collect.* Almighty God, who of Thy divine providence hast appointed divers orders and offices in Thy Church, and didst admit Thy servant Phœbe and others into the order of deaconesses: mercifully behold this Thy servant, now called to the like office and administration. Replenish her so with the truth of Thy doctrine, and adorn her with innocency of life, that she may faithfully serve thee in this office, to the glory of Thy Name, and the benefit of Thy holy Church, through the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ; who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, now and for ever. *Amen.* *The Epistle* (Rom. xvi. 1). I commend unto you Phœbe, etc. (to ver. 2). *The Gospel* (St. Luke ii. 36). And there was one Anna, etc. (to ver. 38). *After the Gospel and Nicene Creed are ended,*	Ordination of Deacons.
Examination of Candidate.	*the bishop, sitting in his chair, shall say to her that is to be ordained:* Beloved, forasmuch as the Holy Scripture and the ancient canons command, that we should not be hasty in laying on hands; before I admit thee to this administration, I will examine thee in certain articles, to the end that the congregation present may have a trial, and bear witness how thou art minded to behave thyself in the discharge of thy office.	

(NONJUROR) FORM—*Continued.*

1–6.	7	Suggested New Form.
and Final Enquiry: "Has the person whom ye present . . . ?"	and Final Enquiry: "Take heed that the person whom ye present . . ."	and Enquiry:
		Proclamation (presentation to people): "Dearly beloved, we are here met together . . ." and Final Enquiry (Si Quis): "therefore, if there be any of you . . ."
		["Hearken, O Lord, we beseech thee, . . ."]
[1 Cor. xiii. (2, 3), or Phil. ii. 1-11 (2, 3, 6).] [Luke xii. 32-40 (2, 3, 6), or xxiv. 1-11 (2, 3).]		[Phil. ii. 1-11.] [Luke xii. 32-40.]

	Deacon (1734).	
	Dost thou think that thou art truly called, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the laws of the Church, to the order and ministry of deaconesses ?	Ordination of Deacons Q. 2.
	Answer. I think it.	
	Bishop. Dost thou unfeignedly believe all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament ?	Q. 3.
	and wilt thou diligently read the same ?	Q. 4.
	Answer. I do believe them, and will diligently read them.	
	Bishop. Wilt thou be diligent to frame and fashion thy life according to the doctrine of Christ, and to make thyself, as much as in thee lieth, an wholesome example to the flock of Christ ?	Q. 6.
	Answer. I will so do, the Lord being my helper.	
(Instruction.)	*Bishop.* It appertaineth to the office of a deaconess, to assist at the baptism of women; to instruct (in private) children, and women who are preparing for baptism; to visit and attend women that are sick and in distress; to overlook the women in the Church, and to correct and rebuke those who behave themselves irregularly there; and to introduce any woman who wanteth to make application to a deacon, presbyter, or bishop. Wilt thou do all this faithfully, diligently, and willingly ?	Q. 5. *A. C.* iii. 15 (Rob. 177-184); viii. 27.
	Answer. I will so do by the help of God.	
	Bishop. Wilt thou reverently obey thy bishop, following with a glad mind and will his godly admonitions, and submitting thyself to his godly judgment ?	Q. 7. Ordination of Priests.
	Answer. I will so do, the Lord being my helper.	
	Then the bishop, standing up, shall say to the deaconess-elect :	
	Almighty God, who hath given thee this will to do these things, grant also unto thee strength and power to perform the same, that He may accomplish His work which He hath begun in thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*	Ordination of Priests.
Sign of ✠ and Imposition of Hands.	*Then the elected deaconess shall kneel down (though it be Sunday) before the bishop, who shall sign her with the sign of the Cross upon her forehead, and then, laying his hands upon her head, he shall say :*	
Proclamation.	With the suffrage and consent of the people, the divine grace, which always healeth what is infirm, and supplieth what is wanting, promoteth the servant of	*Cf.* Old Gallican rite.
Bidding.	God, *N.*, to the office of a deaconess. Let us pray for her, that the grace of the most Holy Spirit may descend upon her.	*Euch.* (Ἡ θεία χάρις . . .)
(Litany.)	*Answer.* Lord, have mercy. We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord.	
	Then the bishop, keeping his hands laid upon her head, shall say the following prayer :	
Ordination Prayer (Hands laid on).	O Eternal God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator of man and woman, who didst replenish Miriam, and Deborah, and Anna, and Huldah with the	*A. C.*

(NONJUROR) FORM—*Continued.*

1-6.	7.	Suggested New Form.
	Instruction (of people):	Instruction (of candidate): "Dearly beloved . . ., who are minded . . ."
		"It appertaineth to the office of a deaconess . . ."
	"Dearly beloved . . ., you have all read in Holy Scripture . . ."	"You have read in Holy Scripture . . ."
	"It is certain, therefore, . . ."	
	"Doubt not, therefore, . . ."	"Doubt not, therefore, . . ."
		"Take heed . . ."
	Proclamation: "To which holy office our sister desires . . ."	
	Bidding: "Let us, therefore, . . . make our supplication . . ."	2. Bidding: "Dearly beloved . . ., let us . . . make our humble supplications . . ."
	Bishop commends candidates to prayers of congregation.	Litany (with special clauses).
	Collect: "Eternal God, . . ." (*A. C.*).	3. Collect (imposition of hands): "Hearken, O Lord, unto our prayers, . . ."

DEACON (1734).

Spirit; who didst not disdain, that Thy Only-begotten Son should be born of a woman; and who, in the tabernacle of the testimony, and in the temple, didst ordain women to be keepers of Thy holy gates: Do Thou now also look down upon this Thy servant, who is here set apart before Thee to the office of a deaconess. Endue her with the Holy Ghost, and cleanse her from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, that she may worthily discharge the work committed to her, to Thy glory and the praise of Thy Christ; with whom to Thee and the Holy Ghost, be glory and adoration, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

(NONJUROR) FORM—*Continued.*

1–6.	7.	Suggested New Form.
	or "O Almighty God, who art the giver of all spiritual grace . . ."	4. Eucharistic Prayer of Consecration (imposition of hands): "VD . . . God; who madest all things . . ."
III. Examination of Candidate:		
	"Do you trust that you are . . . moved by the Holy Ghost . . . ?"	
	"Do you think that you are truly called . . . ?"	
	"Do you . . . believe all the . . . Scriptures . . . ?"	
"Dearly beloved . . ., have you duly considered how weighty an undertaking . . . ?"	(Instruction) "It appertaineth to the office of a deaconess . . ."	
	"Will you apply all . . . diligence to frame . . . your life . . . ?"	
"Will you be obedient . . . ?"	"Will you . . . obey your ordinary . . . ?"	
". . ., is it your desire to give yourself to the work . . . in singleness of heart ?"		
IV. Candidate kneels. "Almighty God, who has called you . . . give you the power to fulfil . . . your service . . ." "Veni Creator" (5, 6).		
Imposition of Hands, with Blessing: "God . . . bless, preserve, and sanctify you; . . ." and Admission: "*N.* . . ., I admit thee . . ."	with Charge: "Take thou authority . . ."	
V. Giving of Cross, etc. (2-6): "Receive and wear this Cross . . ."		5. Investiture with Stole: "Receive this stole . . ."

	Deacon (1734).	
Post-Ordination Prayer.	*Then the bishop shall take his hands off her head, and shall say the following prayer, the new-ordained deaconess still kneeling:* Almighty God, giver of all good things, who of Thy great goodness hast vouchsafed to accept and take this Thy servant into the office of deaconesses in Thy Church: Make her, we beseech Thee, to be modest, humble, and constant in her ministration, and to have a ready will to observe all spiritual discipline; that she, having always the testimony of a good conscience, may at length by Thee be eternally rewarded, through Thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and honour world without end. *Amen.*	Ordination of Deacons (before Benediction).
Salutations (Kiss of Peace).	*Then the new-ordained deaconess shall rise, and the deaconesses present shall all salute her with the Kiss of peace in the name of the Lord.*	*Euch.*
Benediction.	*After which, the bishop, turning towards the people, shall pronounce this Benediction, the people reverently bowing their heads.* The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, . . .	
Eucharist resumed.	*Then the bishop shall proceed in the Communion Service.*	

1–6.	7.	Suggested New Form.
VI. Committal to (head-deaconess): "Receive (this deaconess) . . ."		6. Salutations: "Peace be with thee," and *R.*
VII. Post-Ordination Prayers: Versicles: "O God, who didst of old teach . . ." etc., etc.		
	Gospel, etc. Communion. Post-Communion Prayers: "Almighty God, giver of all good things . . ." "Prevent us, O Lord, . . ."	
Benediction: (1-4) "God . . . bless, preserve, and keep you . . ."	"The peace of God, . . ."	

APPENDIX XV

SOME OTHER MODERN LITURGICAL FORMS

I.—Forms for the Setting Apart of Deaconesses in the Dioceses of Pennsylvania and New York.

[These forms are identical, except that the New York form omits one question and answer, as indicated below. The New York form is printed in *The Year-Book of the New York Training School for Deaconesses*, 1916-1917, St. Faith's House, Cathedral Close, Amsterdam Avenue, and 110th Street, New York.]

¶ *All things being in readiness, a Priest shall present to the Bishop sitting in his chair, near to the Holy Table, such as are to be set apart as Deaconesses, saying:*

Reverend Father in God, I present unto you these women [*or* this woman], to be set apart to the office and work of Deaconess.

The Bishop.

Declare, we pray you, unto those who are here gathered what the office and work of a Deaconess are.

¶ *Then shall the Priest, addressing the People, say:*

Dearly beloved, it is written in the Holy Gospel according to St. Luke, that while the Lord Jesus was going about through cities and villages, preaching and showing the glad tidings of the kingdom of God, there were women not a few which ministered unto Him of their substance. Likewise, after He was crucified (as the same Evangelist hath elsewhere told us), the women which came with Him from Galilee were emboldened to follow after them that carried His body to the burial, and to prepare spices and ointments. Also that it is agreeable to the mind of Christ that women should do Him service by offices of loving-kindness, we gather from St. Paul, who saith to the Philippians. Help those women which laboured with me in the Gospel. And who also commendeth unto the Romans, one Phebe, a Deaconess of the Church which was at Cenchrea.

Touching the duty of women set apart to this office and ministry, the Canons of the Church affirm that it is to assist the Minister in the care of the poor and sick, in the religious training

of the young and others, and in the work of moral reformation. That *they* may be duly appointed to such service, *have these women* come hither.

¶ *Then shall the Bishop say as followeth:*

Beloved, we have good confidence that *they* who *are* now presented to be set apart to the office of Deaconess *are* competent thereto, for it hath been so certified unto us, as the Canons require, by them whose word we trust. Nevertheless, if there be any who can allege aught on account of which it is inexpedient that any of *these persons* be so set apart, let protest be now made openly and before all men.

¶ *If no good reason be alleged by any why the service should not proceed, then shall the Bishop say:*

Let thy merciful kindness, O Lord, be upon us.
Answer. Like as we do put our trust in Thee.

¶ *Then, all kneeling down, the Bishop shall say:*

Unto Thee lift we up our eyes;
Answer. O Thou that dwellest in the heavens.
Bishop. As the eyes of servants look unto the hand of their masters;
Answer. And as the eyes of a maiden unto the hand of her mistress;
Bishop. Even so our eyes wait upon Thee, O Lord;
Answer. Until Thou have mercy upon us.
Bishop. O Lord, have mercy upon us.
Answer. Have mercy upon us.
Bishop. O Lord, let Thy mercy lighten upon us;
Answer. As our trust is in Thee.

The Bishop.

O Eternal God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator of man and woman; who didst anoint with the Spirit, Miriam and Deborah and Anna and Huldah; who didst not disdain that Thine only-begotten Son should be born of a woman; who, also, in the tabernacle of the testimony and in the temple, didst ordain women to be keepers of Thy holy gates; Look mercifully, we beseech Thee, upon *these* Thy *servants*, about to be set apart to the office and work of Deaconess. Protect them in the way wherein they go, and grant that in singleness of purpose and with a willing mind *they* may worthily accomplish the task committed to *them*, to Thy glory and to the praise of Thy Christ, to whom with Thee, O Father, and Thee, O Holy Ghost, be glory and worship for ever and ever. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall he add:*

O magnify the Lord with me.
Answer. And let us exalt His name together.

¶ *Then, all standing up, shall be said:*

We will praise Thy name, O God, with a song.
Answer. And magnify it with thanksgiving.
Bishop. O give thanks unto the God of heaven.
Answer. For His mercy endureth for ever.
Bishop. O give thanks unto the Lord of Lords.
Answer. For His mercy endureth for ever.

¶ *Then shall be sung or said the Hymn called* Magnificat, *as followeth:*

Magnificat. St. Luke i. 46.

My soul doth magnify the Lord: and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.

For He hath regarded: the lowliness of His handmaiden.

For behold, from henceforth: all generations shall call me blessed.

For He that is mighty hath magnified me: and holy is His Name.

And His mercy is on them that fear Him: throughout all generations.

He hath showed strength with His arm: He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts.

He hath put down the mighty from their seat: and hath exalted the humble and meek.

He hath filled the hungry with good things: and the rich He hath sent empty away.

He remembering His mercy hath holpen His servant Israel: as He promised to our forefathers, Abraham and his seed, for ever.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the Holy Ghost;

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be: world without end. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the Bishop ask of them the following questions, to which each candidate shall answer for herself.*

The Bishop.

Have you well considered in your own mind your purpose to serve God in this office and ministry?

Answer. I have so considered it.

The Bishop.

Will you endeavour, so long as you shall hold this office, faithfully to fulfil the duties of the same without fickleness or waywardness?

Answer. I will.

The Bishop.

Will you diligently ask of God the grace to enable you to cling to this endeavour, and to make this purpose good?

Answer. I will.

[1]*The Bishop.*

Will you reverently obey your Bishop, and other chief Ministers, who, according to the Canons of the Church, may have the charge and government over you: following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions?

Answer. I will endeavour so to do, the Lord being my helper.[1]

¶ *Then the Bishop, laying his hands severally upon the head of every one of them kneeling before him, shall say:*

Take thou authority to exercise the office of a Deaconess in the Church of God, whereunto thou art now set apart.

Blessed be thou of the Lord, my daughter. The Lord recompense thy word, and a full reward be given thee of the Lord God of Israel, under whose wings thou art come to trust. Amen.

The Bishop.

The Lord be with you.

Asnwer. And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

¶ *Then, all kneeling down, the Bishop shall say these Prayers following.*

For the Deaconesses newly set apart:

O God, who, in Thy holy Word, dost commend above all goodly apparel the ornament of a quiet spirit; Adorn, we beseech Thee, *these* Thy *servants*, with the meekness and the gentleness of Christ. Preserve *them* alike from faithless fears and from unreasonable desires, that with a steadfast heart and settled purpose *they* may run the way of Thy commandments, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

For such as are in Need and Necessity:

O God, Almighty and merciful, who healest those that are broken in heart, and turnest the sadness of the sorrowful to joy;

[1–1] This question and the following answer are omitted in the New York form.

Let Thy fatherly goodness be upon all that Thou hast made. Especially we beseech Thee to remember in pity such as are destitute, homeless or forgotten of their fellow-men. Bless the congregation of Thy poor. Uplift those who are cast down. Mightily befriend innocent sufferers, and sanctify to them the endurance of their wrongs. Cheer with hope all discouraged and unhappy people, and by Thy heavenly grace preserve from falling those whose penury tempteth them to sin; though they be troubled on every side, suffer them not to be distressed; though they be perplexed, save them from despair. Grant this, O Lord, for the love of Him who for our sakes became poor, Thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

For final Blessedness:

Almighty and eternal God, to whom is never any prayer made without hope of mercy; Bow thine ear, we beseech Thee, to our supplications, and in the heavenly city cause us to be united with Thy faithful servants, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Rom. xv. 13.

The God of hope fill us with all joy and peace in believing, that we may abound in hope, through our Lord Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

Authorisation.

The above FORM FOR THE SETTING APART OF DEACONESSES is hereby authorised, and set forth for use in the Diocese of Pennsylvania, in accordance with the provisions of Title I., Canon 13, of the Digest.

P. M. RHINELANDER,
Bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania.

Feast of the Epiphany.
MDCCCXCV.

II.—Newcastle Diocesan Deaconess Institution.

Institution of Head-Deaconess.

The Head-Deaconess-Elect shall be presented to the Bishop by the Warden, saying:

Reverend Father in God, I present unto you —— to be instituted by you as Head-Deaconess of this diocese.

Then shall the Bishop say:

The Lord be with you,
R. And with thy spirit.
Lord have mercy, etc.
Our Father, etc.
O Lord, save this Thy servant,
R. Who putteth her trust in Thee.
The Lord preserve thy going out and coming in,
R. From this time forth for evermore.

Let us pray.

Grant, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, the gift of Thy grace unto this Thy servant, whom we have appointed to be Head-Deaconess of this diocese, that of Thy bounty this our appointment may be pleasing unto Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then shall be sung the Veni Creator, *all kneeling.*

Then the Bishop shall place the Head-Deaconess-Elect in her seat in the Chapel, saying:

Blessed be the Lord thy God, whose pleasure it is to give thee this place and office. The Lord send His Spirit upon thee, and let not His mercy and truth fail thee.

Let us pray.

O God, the Fountain of all good things, grant, we beseech Thee, that this Thy servant, strengthened by Thy Holy Spirit, may perform well the office committed unto her to the advancement of thy glory and the good of Thy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

Then shall be sung the Hymn, " O God, our help in ages past " (No. 403).

Then shall the Bishop pronounce the Benediction.

III.—Form for the Admission of Deaconesses in Denmark.

TRANSLATED, WITH A NOTE, BY PASTOR DALHOFF, COPENHAGEN.

For the setting apart of the deaconesses in the Scandinavian Deaconess Houses no common form exists. As already related, the Swedish Mother-House does not use any imposition of hands, though the act is also to them a real consecration. In Denmark and Norway we have an imposition by the rector (pastor) of the house.

In the Danske Diakonissestiftelse I have, after some minor alterations in the beginning, during thirty years made use of the same form that, with small variations, is also employed by my successor, and in the St. Lukas-Stiftelse.

The Sisters are standing before the altar rail. After an address (ten to fifteen minutes) the Pastor says:

And now I give you this question, to be answered by each of you:

Will you overtake the work and position of a Deaconess and perform it for the sake of Jesus Christ and to the good of His Church, in His charity to the suffering and poor, in willing obedience to your superiors, in fidelity to your calling?

(1) Sister N. N.: Yes (giving the hand).
(2) ,, ,, ,,
(3) ,, ,, ,,

Pastor.

May the Lord fortify and bless you through His Holy Spirit in that which you have overtaken, so that you, according to the word of the Apostle, may be (1 Cor. xv., last words).

The sisters kneel down. Benediction with imposition, reading a special selected text (as Phil. iv. 7, Matt. v. 8, Num. xxiii. 19, and so), and continuing in free prayer out from the Word. Then "Our Father," with shifting imposition. At last, reading or chanting the old prayer from the Apostolic Constitutions:

Eternal God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hast created man and woman, and hast filled Miriam and Deborah, Hannah and Huldah with Thy Holy Spirit, and hast deigned that Thy only-begotten Son was born of a woman, and hast in Thy tabernacle and temple set women to guard Thy holy doors, please look to these Thy servants who are set to Thy service, and give them Thy Holy Spirit, that they may be cleansed from all impurity of flesh and spirit, that they worthily may fulfil the work which is entrusted to them, to Thy glory and to the praise of Thy Christ. With Him be Thee and Thy Holy Spirit praise and adoration in eternity. Amen.

November, 1917.

A BENEDICTINE CONSECRATED NUN, OF RONCERAI, c. 1700.
Wearing surplice heavily trimmed with lace.

[*Facing p.* 294.

IV.—A Letter on Deaconesses in the Catholic Apostolic Church ["Irvingite"].

By the Rev. Chas. E. W. Stuart.

2, The Cloisters,
Gordon Square,
London, W.C. 1.
August 31, 1918.

Dear Madame,

Replying to your letter of the 21st inst. asking for information about deaconesses in the Catholic Apostolic Church, I take your questions in the order in which you ask them.

1.—Deaconesses are chosen by nomination in the Council of the particular Church, and, after public notice has been given to the congregation, if no valid objection is raised they are elected in the Council.

2.—Married women can become deaconesses.

3.—After election the candidates are admitted to the office of deaconess in the form provided in the Liturgy.

I may add that in the election of deaconesses preference is given to those who are of mature age, and whose circumstances permit them to dedicate their services to the Church without hindrance from family duties. Their use is *mainly* directed to those women of the flock whose circumstances may forbid the visitation of any but a female.

Yours faithfully,
Chas. E. W. Stuart.

[Note.—The form for "The Benediction of a Deaconess" will be found among the "Special Occasional Services" in the "Liturgy and other Divine Offices of the Church."]

APPENDIX XVI

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

I.—On the Administration of the Reserved Eucharist by Women.

Chiefly taken from *The Sacrament Reserved, a Survey of the Practice of Reserving the Eucharist, with Special Reference to the Communion of the Sick, during the First Twelve Centuries.* By the late W. H. Freestone, M.A. 1917. Alcuin Club Collections, XXI.

It is difficult to draw any conclusions from the evidence regarding the administration of the Eucharist by women to those absent from the celebration of the liturgy, unless it be that no restriction seems to have been placed upon women as such from handling the reserved Sacrament.

The evidence is overwhelming that in times of persecution lay folk of both sexes reserved the Eucharist at home for their own use. There is the well-known passage in Tertullian (*Ad uxorem*, ii. 5; Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, i. 1296) where, in reference to the case of a Christian woman married to an unbeliever, he says: "Will your husband know what it is that you taste in secret before [eating] any food?" St. Cyprian (*De lapsis* 26; Migne, *P. L.*, iv. 486) tells of a lapsed Christian woman who tried to open the vessel in which she kept the Eucharist for her own use, when it miraculously burst into flames. SS. Ambrose and Augustine see nothing reprehensible in the use of the Eucharist as an amulet, and the latter tells of a woman who used the Eucharist to cure her son of blindness (*De excessu fratris*, i. 43; Migne, *P. L.*, xvi. 1304. *Op. impp. contra Julian.*, iii. 162; *Opera*, ed. Benedict., x. 1802).

When the real need for private reservation passed away and abuses had multiplied, we find various enactments forbidding the Eucharist to be carried out of the church, or enjoining its consumption at once, but no distinction seems to have been made as between men and women. Indeed, in the case of certain women the practice seems to have survived after its general disuse. From the ninth and tenth centuries down to the fif-

teenth century in France, at the consecration of a virgin, the rubric ordered her to reserve for her own Communion during the following eight or, latterly, three days. In its earliest form the rubric runs:

"Tunc imponatur evangelium, et illa velato capite ad manus episcopi offerat, et missa ordine suo finita communicet. Postquam communicavit reservet de ipsa communione unde usque in diem octavum communicet" (Hittorp, *De div. cath. ecclesie ritibus*, Paris, 1624, x. 161, in *Bibilotheca Patrum*).

The long survival of this practice as a privilege of consecrated virgins supports other evidence which tends to show that the diaconate of women developed into, or became merged in, the consecrated virgin. In this connection it may be noted that private reservation also survived as a privilege of certain of the clergy—*e.g.*, St. Thomas of Canterbury (J. B. Thiers, *Traité de l'Exposition du St. Sacrement de l'Autel*, Paris, 1677, p. 8)—and last of all of popes. And a similar custom, but of different origin, was long in vogue at the consecration of bishops and the ordination of priests, which, according to Morinus (*De sacris ordinationibus*, iii. 165 *ff.*), began in Italy in the ninth century and spread thence over Gaul. The newly consecrated reserved a portion of the Host he received at consecration and communicated from it daily for forty days, or latterly for some shorter period. From the middle of the eleventh century the custom fell into disuse, and was superseded by an obligation to celebrate daily for a certain period. Fr. Freestone sees in this a trace of concelebration, and concludes that the resemblance between it and the reservation by a consecrated virgin "is only of a superficial character" (*The Sacrament Reserved*, p. 68).

In the *Testamentum Domini* deacons administer both elements to the congregation and to the sick, and Justin Martyr seems to describe the same thing. In the case of a sick woman, the Eucharist is taken to her by a deaconess. Gradually the deacon's ministry of the Eucharist in the liturgy became restricted to the chalice, but his administration of the reserved Sacrament to the sick still survived in case of necessity as late as the ninth century. At the same time we find that as late as 1138 a Council of Westminster allowed not only a deacon, but even a layman, to take the *viaticum* to the sick in case of necessity. But the carrying of the Eucharist to the sick by lay folk had already been forbidden on several occasions. In the ninth century Hincmar of Reims and Regino of Prüm required the clergy to do it, and in the tenth century an edict of Ratherius of Verona runs:

"Nullus præsumat tradere communionem laico aut feminæ ad deferendum infirmo" (Migne, *P. L.*, cxxxvi. 560).

II.—On the Preparation of the Eucharistic Elements.

By Francis C. Eeles.

Before the eucharistic elements are ready for consecration upon the altar at least three actions are required:

(*a*) The bread must be placed on the paten, the wine and water poured into the chalice.

(*b*) The vessels containing the elements so prepared must be taken to and set on the middle of the altar.

(*c*) Some kind of offering is made, preparatory to consecration.[1]

Of these three actions, we are very familiar with *a* and *b* being carried out in succession at the time of the offertory. But in mediæval times in this country *a* and *b* were usually done earlier, and *c* at the offertory, although at solemn services *b* was usually done at the offertory as well as *c*. Thus the mixing of the chalice took place at Westminster (and London?) before the service—as indeed was ordered by the Lincoln Judgment in 1890; at High Mass at Lincoln, Sarum, Wells, and elsewhere it was done between the Epistle and the Gospel; while at Rome, although the bread is placed on the paten before the service begins, the mixing of the chalice is put off till the offertory. In the Dominican and Mozarabic rites the mixture is made before the service at low mass, between the Epistle and Gospel at High Mass. Throughout the East the bread is placed on the paten and the wine and water poured into the chalice with elaborate ceremonial, before the liturgy itself begins, during a preliminary service, at a large credence table called the prothesis, which stands in a kind of side chapel, or sacristy, opening from the north of the sanctuary. It is this part of the service not actually carried out at the holy table itself, that seems to have been performed by deaconesses among the Monophysites in the sixth century (see p. 12 above).

At a Coronation the chalice and paten are prepared, the sacred elements being placed in them before the service, in St. Edward's Chapel. At the time of the offertory the Sovereign himself or herself takes them from one of the ministers and offers them to the celebrant.

The ceremonial preparation of the elements, including the mixing of the chalice, before the service was well known in the West of old—indeed it was the more common practice at Low

[1] In the Book of Common Prayer and in the early Roman rite there are no prayers for this purpose, but one exists in the Coronation Service.

Mass—but we have no evidence that it was ever done by the nuns themselves even in churches of their orders.

Besides the actions just described, there is other ceremonial connected in some places with the sacred elements. At the time of the offertory in early times the faithful made various offerings in kind, more especially bread and wine for consecration either at that service or on some subsequent occasion. This is the "offering" that we read of women making in certain places and of which the Penitential of Theodore says it is done by women according to the Greeks but not according to the Romans (see below, p. 317). It seems to be an offering of wine of this kind, and not of the chalice ready prepared, that the Abbess of Barking is described by the ordinal of 1400 as making on high days. And it is this offering that survives at Milan, where old men and women pensioners still bring up bread and wine at the offertory at High Mass in the metropolitan church. In this case the women do not approach so near to the altar as the men.

III.—Women (exclusive of Nuns, etc.) in the Mediæval Church.

By the Rev. J. P. Whitney, D.D.

It appears that no information of special value can be furnished under this heading. The natural tendency was for women with special religious gifts, or with special desire to serve, to become members of an order, recluses, or associates of an order.

Women of high birth or position in many cases exercised patronage, gave protection, or at times interfered inside the Church, much as did men of the same birth or position. It may be pointed out that there were differences in the general position of women, and at the close of the Middle Ages English women of birth, for instance, seem to have been educated so highly as to surprise Erasmus, accustomed to the usages of the Continent. It would appear that women in England were also socially freer than women abroad, and this would to some degree affect their activities in the Church.

These statements are so general and could be supported by so many references that it is needless to give any.

A few results of the special investigations which have proved to be useful are added.

1. Requests of women for portable altars. Here it is clear women made as much demand for the privilege as men. Numbers of examples could be given. I had noted this matter myself

in the Papal Registers, and Miss C. B. Firth (Lecturer at Newnham) did the same (see Report of Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, xviii., pp. 161-203).

Miss Firth also points out for the fifteenth century she can find no trace of "secular deaconesses." Cases of women-churchwardens and women helping to prepare for Church feasts occur, but so far Miss Firth knows of no cases of women undertaking spiritual work, except such outstanding cases as Lady Julian, and on the Continent St. Catharine of Genoa.

2. The guilds are the most important and fruitful side of the investigation. Here I have had the kind help of Miss Firth and Miss Abram.

In Norwich brothers and sisters were admitted on equal terms (see Miss Firth, *Village Gilds of Norfolk in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 29).

There is evidence, says Miss Abram, that women and men were members on equal terms. She has made an analysis of the records. The religious side of the guilds is not always mentioned; when it is, women seem to enjoy the same privileges as laymen who are members. Some of the records are inconclusive; the rest show no difference, though they did not always share administrative work equally.

A few details about women-churchwardens and some negative conclusions are given in a paper by Miss Rose Graham on "The Civic Position of Women at Common Law," printed by the Society of Comparative Legislation (No. XXXIX., p. 178).

IV.—On Justinian's Novel concerning Deaconesses (Coll. I., *Nov.* vi.).

By Miss Alice Gardner.

After legislating for clergy, the emperor declares that the deaconesses also must not be made *citra observantiam*, and that age should be *neque novellam, neque crescentem, neque ex hac ad delinquendum salientem. Fifty* years is the age for their ordination. They must either be virgins or have been wives of one husband. Their life must have been *non dicimus* [*non*] *reprehensibilem sed nec suspectam omnino.* This is said specially with regard to their functions: *adorandis ministrare baptismatibus, et alias adesse secretis quæ in venerabilibus ministeriis per eas rite aguntur.* If there is need to ordain a deaconess under fifty, she must be ordained, and also dwell, in

some monastery (*asceterium*). She must not mix in male society [*nequaquam viris admixta constituta sit*], but must live apart —not with relatives (*cognati*) or so-called *dilecti*, but either alone, or with parents, children, or brothers, or quite unexceptionable persons. Any suspicious connection is a bar to ordination. Any scandal shall lead to her degradation from the order. At the time of ordination, the necessary conditions are to be impressed upon her, the breach of any—such as contracting marriage—rendering her *worthy of death*. Those who would corrupt a deaconess are liable to be slain with the sword; similarly, the property of any who marries a deaconess is to be forfeited to the State [the deaconess's goes to churches or monasteries]. This is justified by example of the penalites inflicted on vestal virgins.

DEACONESSES: JUSTINIAN'S NOVELLÆ (Coll. I., Tit. vi., Cap. vi.).

Quanta igitur super venerabiles clericos a nobis dicta sunt, hæc etiam super Deo amabilibus diaconissis agi volumus, ut neque ipsæ sine observantiam fiant, sed primum quidem eis ætatem neque novellum esse, neque crescentem, neque ex hac ad delinquendum salientem: sed super medias constitutas ætatem, et circa quinquaginta annos secundum divinas regulas agentes: sicque sacram promereri ordinationem: et aut virgines constitutas, aut unius viri quæ fuerant uxores: non enim permittimus neque secundas contrahentibus nuptias, neque vitam habentibus non dicimus, reprehensibilem, sed nec suspectam omnino, ad sacrum venire ministerium, et adorandis ministrare baptismatibus, et aliis adesse secretis, quæ in venerabilibus ministerias per eas rite aguntur. Si vero quædam necessitas fiat, et minorem hac ætate, quam diximus ordinari diaconissam contigerit: liceat eam in aliquo venerabilium asceteriorum ordinari, et in illo habitare. Nequaquam viris admixta constituta sit; neque suo arbitrio habitans; sed vitæ separatæ, et mediocris, et a conveniente multitudine bonum testimonium habens. Volumus autem ut ipsas quæ ad ordinationem perducuntur diaconessas sine ex viduitate sive ex virginitate, non cum aliquo cohærentes aut cognatorum aut illorum quas appellant dilectos: (talibus autem utentes nominibus, maligna suspicione suam replent vitam) sed aut solæ habitent, aut cum parentibus solis aut filiis aut veri fratribus: aut iis cohærere de quibus si quis suspicari aliquid præsumpserit malignum, ipse insipiens simul et impius forsan putabitur. Et si dicatur tale aliquid de aliqua earum quæ in diaconissarum ordinationem ingredi vult, quod alicui cohæserit sub imagine quidem bonæ

appellationis, maligna vero suspicione: non oportet hujusmodi mulierem perdūci omnino ad ordinationem diaconiæ. Nam si ordinetur, et tale aliquid egerit, et cohæserit alicui cum prædicto nomine aut schemate, cadet quidem a diaconia, et ipsa et ille subjecti erunt huic legi, et reliquis quæ correptores puniunt. Oportet enim omnes quæ ordinantur venerabiles diaconessas tempore ordinationis et moneri et sacrorum audire mandatorum præcepta coram reliquis quæ dudum sunt venerabiles diaconissæ: ut et ipsæ Dei timorem habeant, et adhærentem sacris mandatis fiduciam: timere autem et confundi sacro cadere ordine: scituras, quid si præsumpserint aut erubescentes ordinationem, aut derelinquentes sacrum ministerium ad nuptias venerint, aut aliam omnino elegerint vitam: ipsæ quidem obligatæ efficientur morti; et substantia earum applicabitur sanctissimis ecclesiis aut monasteriis in quibus sunt. Qui vero eas aut uxores accipere aut corrumpere præsumpserint, obnoxii quidem et ipsi gladio erunt: substantia autem eorum applicabitur fisca. Si enim in antiquis legibus, virginibus illis, quæ in eorum errorem vocabantur, mortis incumbebat damnum corruptis: quomodo non magis nos in iis quæ a Deo glorificantur definimus, pudicitiam (quæ quam maxime mulieres exornet) conservari volentes, quam diligentissime a venerabilibus diaconissis, ut quod decet naturæ custodiant, et quod debetur sacerdotio, conservent?

V.—An Early Form for Blessing an Abbess.

From the seventh-century MS. known as the Bobbio Missal, Paris, Bib. Nat., No. 13,246.

See Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, 5th ed., 1919, p. 158.

From L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, 1748, vol. ii., col. 955: Neale and Forbes, *The Ancient Liturgies of the Gallican Church*, Burntisland, 1855, p. 360.

Benedictio Abbatisse.

Omnipotens Domine Deus, apud quem non est discretio sexuum, nec ulla sanctarum disparilitas animarum: qui ita viros ad spiritalia certamina conroboras, ut feminas non derelinquas: pietatem tuam humili supplicatione deposcimus, ut huic famolæ tuæ ill. quam sacrosancto gregi virginum, nostrarum impositione manuum et hoc velaminis tegumento in cœnobio ill. Matrem fieri optamus: clementia tua roboratrix perpetua non recedet. Da ei, Domine, fortitudinem spiritalia bella gerendi, ut nec honesta delaceret, nec inhonesta delectet: atque ita a te inlumi-

nata, sibi creditam multitudinem animarum tuo sancto nomini jugiter admonendo faciat inservire, ut de nullius perditione confusa, tuæ Genetricis adjungatur cœtibus lætabunda, cum suis omnibus feliciter coronanda. Per, etc.

VI.—Injunctions to the Canonesses of Moutiers-sur-Sambre, by John of Flanders, Bishop of Liège, A.D. 1288.

From *Diplomatum Belgicorum Nova Collectio sive Supplementum ad opera diplomatica Auberti Miræi* . . ., t. iv., cura et studio Joannis Francisci Foppens. Bruxellis, 1748. Caput lxxxiii., p. 574.

Joannes de Flandria Leodiensis Episcopus exponit Statum Ecclesiæ Monasteriensis ad Sabim, Canonicarum Nobilium (hodie Diœcesis Namurcensis) iisdem Statuta præscribit, anno 1288.

[*In margin:* Ex Archivis hujus Capituli, communicavit R. D. Posson.]

Joannes Dei gratia Leodiensis Episcopus, charissimis in Christo filiabus, Abbatissæ totiusque Capitulo Ecclesiæ Monasteriensis, supra Sambriam, nostræ Diœcesis, salutem et firmam veramque fiduciam in Domino obtinere.

Ut loca Ecclesiastica, quæ licet sumus immeriti, nostro regimini sunt subjecta, cum personis eorumdem studio nostro proficiant, et perditionis periculum non incurrant, tanto affectuosius appetimus, quanto magis earum depressionem ad culpam forte nostram fieri timeremus.

Ea propter, cum nuper ex relatione quorumdam ad nostram audientiam pervenisset, quod secundum SS. Patrum Institutionem minime viveretis, et vestra Ecclesia in spiritualibus præcipue reformatione indigeret, de statu ipsius Ecclesiæ tam in capite quam in membris inquiri fecimus veritatem.

Cumque dictam inquisitionem habuissemus publicatam, comperimus in eadem, quod in vestra Ecclesia est et fuit ab antiquo quædam Superior, quæ Abbatissa nominatur et fuerat communiter nominata; quæ licet a Capitulo prædicto eligi debuit et debet: tamen benedici et consecrari in Abbatissam Ordinis Sti Benedicti nostræ Diœcesis facere consueverunt.

Et quod in eadem Ecclesia sunt, et fuerunt ab antiquo decem Præbendæ, et totidem Canonici seculares earumdem, qui desuper alba deferunt superpellicia in ipsa Ecclesia, et vocem habent in Capitulo, cum electio Abbatissæ inibi imminet facienda. Et viginti quinque Præbendæ Domicellarum, quæ communiter

appellantur Domicellæ claustrales seu Canonicæ seculares, et totidem Domicellæ claustrales seu Canonicæ seculares earumdem.

Quæ quidem Domicellæ claustrales nullam faciunt nec hactenus facere consueverunt in dicta Ecclesia Professionem Regularem; in Domibus suis claustralibus circa dictam Ecclesiam sitis, commorantes, carnibus et aliis cibariis ad libitum utentes, vestes sœculares extra dictam Ecclesiam prout Canonici et Canonicæ sœculares illius loci facere consueverunt, deferentes, peculium habentes et acquirentes, de quo disponere consueverunt, pro suo libero voluntatis. Et cum Præbendas suas etiam per multa tempora tenuerint, ipsis dimissis aliquæ earumdem a predicta Ecclesia recesserant, et nupserunt matrimonialiter; quarum etiam filii eisdem in bonis maternis et paternis successerunt, et legitimi sunt communiter ab omnibus reputati.

Et licet in uno dormitorio dormire consueverunt, et divinum Officium laudabiliter exercere, tamen desuper et exterius nigrum superpelliceum et super caput quasi velum ad instar Monialium Ordinis Sancti Benedicti deferunt, et hactenus detulerunt. Cujus tamen Ordinis modum vivendi, et Regulares observantias minime habuerunt, neque tenent: ex quibus etiam habitus a modo vivendi discrepat, et in populo scandalum non modicum generatur.

Et cum Vos . . . Abbatissam et Domicellas vestras prædictas precibus et salutaribus monitis frequentius incitassemus, ac etiam salubriter monuissemus, ut secundum Regularem Observantiam Ordinis Sancti Benedicti, vel alterius approbati ulterius viveretis, habitum ejusdem Auctoritate nostra assumendo, precibus et monitis nostris contradictis asseruistis, Vos esse et fuisse a prima institutione Canonicas sœculares, sicut in nostra et Coloniensi nostra Metropoli Diœcesibus regno Allemanniæ plures in diversis Ecclesiis reperiuntur. Quod etiam dixistis posse perpendi a modo vivendi vestro, a tempore a quo non extat memoria observato.

Et ex eo etiam quod vestræ Ecclesiæ Canonici sunt et fuerunt a prima Institutione sœculares. Qui non fuissent primitus in dicta Ecclesia sœculares instituti (quamvis in alio loco dictæ Ecclesiæ quam vos, suum officium exequantur) si Institutio vestra Regularis extitisset: cum secundum Canonicas Sanctiones homines diversæ professionis in una Ecclesia non debent pariter sociari.

Quare (ut dixistis) vestram Institutionem et antiquam observationem noluistis aliquatenus immutari. Supplicantes humiliter, ut habitum vestrum conformem vestræ Institutioni et modo vivendi, faceremus Authoritate nostra conformari.

Ne igitur in bove et asino arare videamini, cum habitus

de jure modo vivendi debeat conformari, Vobis præcipimus, ut habi/tum [p. 575] veterum Institutioni et modo vivendi vestro . . . de consilio Juris-peritorum et fide dignorum, et præcipue charissimi consanguinei nostri Guidonis de Hannonia [*In margin:* Canonici Leodienses Arbitri.] Custodis, et Magistri Jacobi de Castanea Archidiaconorum, et Magistrorum Balduini de Altera-Ecclesia Scolastici, Henrici dicti Bate Cantoris, et Willelmi de Attrebato, et Willelmi de Rochelar Canonicorum nostræ Leodiensis Ecclesiæ predictæ, ac Officialis nostri Leodiensis. Et ad vestrum consensum et petitionem statuentes et ordinantes sub pena excommunicationis observari precipiemus, quod Domicellæ claustrales in dicta Ecclesia et alibi infra ambitum ejusdem ulterius alba superpellicia, et desuper clamidem seu mantillum nigrum deferant, et in dictis locis alio habitu desuper non utantur.

Et quod in cantando legendo et in divino Officio exercendo, Ordinarium Ecclesie nostræ Leodiensis, Matricis Ecclesie totius nostræ Diœcesis, teneant; et qualibet die in Ecclesia sua cantare Horas B. Virginis, præterquam in festis solemnibus cum novem habuerint lectiones, et quælibet Domicella seu Canonica quolibet anno sex Psalteria David dicere teneantur.

In cujus rei testimonium, præsentibus Litteris ad perpetuam rei memoriam Sigillum nostrum, una cum sigillis prædictorum Archidiaconorum et Canonicorum duximus apponendum. Et nos predicti Archidiaconi et Canonici Sigilla nostra apposuimus præsentibus, in testimonium præmissorum.

Datum anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo octogesimo octavo, die mercurii post Ramos Palmarum.

VII.—On the Carthusian Nuns.

From Pierre Hèlyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, t. vii., pp. 402-404.

CHAPITRE LIII.

DES RELIGIEUSES CHARTREUSES.

Si le Père Dom Innocent Masson, Général de l'Ordre des Chartreux, avoit donné la continuation des Annales de son Ordre, il auroit fait connoître l'origine des Religieuses Chartreuses, suivant la promesse qu'il en avoit faite dans le premier volume de ces Annales qu'il donna au publie l'an 1687. Mais les Chartreux s'étant opposés à la continuation de cet Ouvrage, pour des raisons qui nous sont inconnuës, Dom Innocent Masson abandonna tellement son dessein, que dans une nouvelle

édition qu'il donna de ce premier volume en 1703 il en changea le titre, et lui donna celui de *Discipline de l'Ordre des Chartreux*, à cause qu'il renferme les Coûtumes du Bienheureux Guigues, et les Statuts de cet Ordre, qui ont été faits en differens tems, et dont il a été parlé dans le Chapitre précedent. Ainsi je ne puis rien dire de certain touchant la véritable origine des Religieuses de cet Ordre, m'étant inutilement adressé aux Religieux du même Ordre, qui gardent un grand silence sur tout ce qui les regarde.

Il paroît néanmoins que le premier Monastère de ces Filles a été fondé du vivant du Bienheureux Guigues, cinquième Général de l'Ordre, puisque dans le Catalogue des Maisons de cet Ordre, que se trouve à la fin des Statuts imprimés sous le Général Dom François du Puy l'an 1510 l'on trouve le Monastère des Religieuses de Bertand, fondé l'an 1116. Le Chartreux Pierre Orlandus, dans la Chronique de son Ordre, dit que l'an 1207 il y avoit dans la Chartreuse Destoges, ou plutôt des Escouges, une sainte fille nommée *Marguerite*, qui y vivoit en odeur de sainteté; et que l'an 1215 Agnés, qui etoit Prieure de ce Monastere, s'etoit aussi renduë recommandable par la sainteté de sa vie, et les miracles qu'elle faisoit. Cependant par deux Actes de la fondation de la Chartreuse Destoges ou des Escouges il paroît que cette fondation avoit été faite pour des Religieux, et qu'à la prière de Jean de Vivien, Religieux de cette Maison, le Dauphin Humbert II. avoit ordonné l'an 1340 l'enregistrement de ces Actes. Il se peut faire que comme à côté des Monastères des Religieuses Chartreuses il y avoit un petit Couvent où demeuroient les Religieux du même Ordre, tant Prêtres que Convers et Rendus, pour leur administrer les Sacremens, et avoir soin de leurs affaires temporelles, la fondation dont nous venons de parler, fut faite pour un de ces petits Couvens, ou bien qu'il y a eu deux différentes Chartreuses, sous le nom Destoges ou des Escouges, qu'on nommoit en Latin *Excubiæ*, l'une pour des hommes, l'autre pour des filles: mais qu'il y en ait eu deux, ou qu'il n'y en ait eu qu'une, il n'y en a plus présentement de ce nom, et elle ne subsiste plus, non plus que celles de Bertand, de Prébaïon, de Polette, de Souribes, de Ramière ou Ramires, de Parvalon et de Sallobrand, qui avoient été aussi fondées pour des Religieuses. Cette dernière étoit située en Provence, au Diocèse de Fréjus, et avoit eu pour Fondateur l'an 1320. Elie de Villeneuve, Grand-Maître de Rhodes, sainte Roseline sa sœur s'y fit Religieuse, et y fut inhumée. Son corps s'est conservé sans aucune corruption jusqu'à présent: mais il est en la possession des Religieux de saint François de l'Observance,

à qui ce Monastere de Religieuses Chartreuses a été cédé dans le quinzième siècle.

Il n'y a plus présentement que cinq Monastères de Filles de cet Ordre, qui sont Prémol, à deux lieuës de Grenoble, fondé l'an 1234 par Béatrix de Montserrat, épouse du Dauphin André: Melan dans le Faussigny en Savoye, et du Diocèse de Genéve, fondé l'an 1288. Salette, sur le bord du Rhône, dans la Baronnie de la Tour, fondé par le Dauphin Humbert I., Anne son épouse, et Jean leur fils l'an 1299 (Marie de Viennois, aussi leur fille, s'y fit Religieuse, et en fut Prieure), Gosné, au Diocèse d'Arras, fondé par l'Evêque Thierri Herisson en 1308, et Bruges, fondé en 1344.

Quoique du tems du Bienheureux Guigues, il y eût déja des Religieuses de cet Ordre, il n'en est point fait mention dans ses coutumes, et ce n'est que dans les anciens Statuts rédigés par écrit par le Général Dom Risser l'an 1258 qu'il en est parlé pour la première fois; mais sans marquer quelles étoient leurs Observances: ce que le Pere Innocent Masson attribuë à la conformité et ressemblance qu'elles avoient avec celles des Religieux. Cependant s'il en faut croire Camille Tutin dans son Histoire de l'Ordre des Chartreux, les Religieuses de cet Ordre du Monastère de Pré-Baïon aïant été fondées l'an 1230 le Bienheureux Jean l'Espagnol leur donna des Constitutions particulières. Ce qui est certain, c'est que présentement toutes les Religieuses Chartreuses se conforment en toutes choses aux Religieux du même Ordre, tant pour l'Office-Divin, les Rits et les Cérémonies de l'Eglise, que pour les abstinences, les jeûnes, le silence, et les autres austerités, excepté qu'elles mangent toûjours en commun soir et matin et jamais en particulier. Avant le Concile de Trente elles faisoient profession à l'âge de douze ans, et alloient au spatiemment avec les Chartreux leurs Directeurs, et les Convers. Le nombre des Religieuses étoit fixé dans chaque Maison, elles ne prenoient point de dot, et ne recevoient de filles qu'autant que les revenus de la Maison suffisoient pour leur entretien; mais présentement elles reçoivent des dots, ne sortent plus de leur clôture pour aller au spatiemment, et ne font point profession avant l'âge de seize ans.

Comme les Chartreux ont toujours conservé les anciennes pratiques de l'Église, les Religieuses de cet Ordre ont aussi conservé jusqu'à présent l'ancienne consecration des Vierges qui se fait en la manière prescrite dans les anciens Pontificaux: elles ne la reçoivent qu'à l'âge de vingt-cinq ans, conservant toujours le voile blanc jusqu'à ce tems là. Cette consecration se fait par l'Evêque qui leur donne l'étole, le manipule et le

voile noir; le manipule s'attache, au bras droit, et l'Evêque en leur donnant cette étole et ce manipule prononce les mêmes paroles qu'il dit à l'ordination des Diacres et des Soû-Diacres. Elles portent ces ornemens le jour de leur consécration, et à leur année de Jubilé, c'est-à-dire, quand elles ont cinquante ans de Religion, et on les enterre aussi avec les mêmes ornemens. Les Prieures et les Religieuses promettent obéissance au Chapitre Général de l'Ordre, et sont obligées d'y envoïer tous les ans une Lettre de leur promesse d'obéissance: outre cela les Prieures sont tenuës d'obéïr aux Pères Vicaires, c'est-à-dire, aux Directeurs de leur Maisons; mais les Religieuses et les Converses promettent seulement obéissance à la Prieure, quoique les unes et les autres fassent leur profession en la présence du Vicaire en le nommant avec la Prieure, et qu'elles soient obligées de lui obéïr en toutes les choses que sont licites et raisonnables. Les Monastères de ces Religieuses ont leurs termes aussi bien que ceux des Religieux; au delà desquels les derniers Statuts défendent aux Vicaires, et aux Prieures de ces Monastères de filles d'envoïer les Religieux qui demeurent chez eux, sans la permission du Chapitre Général, sous peine à ces Religieux d'être déclarés fugitifs, et à ceux qui les auroient envoiés d'être punis sévérement. Il y a ordinairement quatre ou cinq Religieux tant Prêtres que Convers qui demeurent avec le Vicaire des Religieuses. S'il n'y a pas un plus grand nombre de Monastères de ces Religieuses, on doit l'attribuer à la défense qui fut faite par les nouveaux Statuts colligés par le Général Dom Guillaume Rainaldi l'an 1368 d'en recevoir à l'avenir ou d'en incorporer à l'Ordre, ceux qui subsistoient pour lors étant apparemment assez à charge aux Religieux. Cette défense fut encore insérée dans la nouvelle collection des Statuts faite par le Général Dom Bernard Garaffe, qui fut publiée l'an 1581 lesquels Statuts sont présentement en usage dans l'Ordre, et ont été confirmés par le Pape Innocent XI. qui y fit quelques corrections.

L'habillement de ces Religieuses consiste en une robe de drap blanc liée d'une ceinture pareille à celle des Religieux aussi bien que la cuculle ou scapulaire, aïant des bandes à côté. Ce qu'elles ont de particulier, c'est qu'elles portent un manteau blanc. Leurs voiles et leurs guimpes sont semblables à ceux des autres Religieuses. Elles ne parlent jamais aux personnes Séculieres, si proches parentes qu'elles puissent être, que le voile baissé et accompagnées de la Prieure ou Soû-Prieure, ou bien d'une ou deux autres Religieuses. Quoi qu'elles doivent se conformer en toutes choses aux Observances des Religieux, on a néanmoins égard à la foiblesse de leur sexe en modérant

principalement l'austerité du silence et la demeure des cellules.

D. Innocent Masson, *Annal. Ord. Carthus.* Petr. Sutor, *de Vita Carthus.* Camil Tutin, *Prospectus, Histoire Ordinis Carthus.* Petr. Orland, *Chronic. Ord. Carthus. et les Constitutions des Religieuses de cet Ordre.*

VIII.—On the Secular Canonesses of Remiremont, Epinal, and Nivelle.

From *Chapitres Nobles de Lorraine, Annales, preuves de Noblesse, Documents, portraits, sceaux et blasons.* Par Félix de Salles. Extrait du recueil annuel de la Société Héraldique Ile et Rle "Adler" pour 1887. Vienne et Paris, 1888.

REMIREMONT.

Un écrivain a dit avec infiniment de raison: "Il semblait naturel à l'aristocratie d'avoir la jouissance des biens légués aux monastères par ses aïeux, et pour légitimer ce droit, elle obtint graduellement la transformation de ces monastères en collégiales et chapitres ouverts à ses filles. L'existence de ces chapitres, nobles paraissait une nécessité politique dans une société féodale: les stalles capitulaires offrent un asile plein de dignité aux filles de la noblesse décimée et ruinée par des guerres interminable, et la prébende fut souvent la récompense de glorieux services. Ces chapitres étaient encore un sûr dépôt, non seulement des titres, mais encore des traditions nobiliaires, et la sévérité que l'on apportait dans l'examen des lignes généalogiques excluait les parchemins équivoques et les armes compromises par des alliances cupides."[1]

L'Église lutta d'abord contre l'institution des chapitres; mais elle finit par accepter les faits accomplis, en s'efforçant de maintenir du moins dans les abbayes séculières et insignes, la piété et l'esprit de charité. Elle s'associa aussi à des tentatives de réforme dans le sens de la règle primitive, et y réussit à Ste-Glossinde (1680) et chez les Dames prêcheresses (1640); ailleurs elle échoua.

L'institution des chapitres a laissé des traces sous les Carlovingiens: le Concile de Francfort (794) fait mention des chanoinesses; le Concile de Mayence (813) formule des réglements pour leur conduite; le Concile de Châlons-sur-Saône (813) les signale comme une innovation religieuse; le Concile d'Aix-la-Chapelle

[1] A. Guinot, *Étude historique sur l'abbaye de Remiremont*, p. 135.

(815)[1] compose une règle pour elles. Digot, que l'esprit de dénigrement de ce siècle inspire, prétend même qu'au XII^e siècle, le pape Eugène III., tout en recommandant aux archevêques de Trèves et de Cologne les chanoinesses de Remiremont, lorsqu'elles faisaient quêter pour rétablir leur église collégiale ruinée par le foudre, déversa en même temps un blâme sévère sur la sécularisation des chanoinesses.[2] Quoi qu'il en soit, nous pouvons, en nous appuyant sur les documents les plus digne de foi, affirmer que, si les Dames des insignes abbayes collégiales et séculières réçurent souvent d'une façon plus mondaine, qu'il n'était compatible avec le caractère religieux, les nobles chanoinesses tant qu'elles gardaient stalles et prébendes, non seulement pratiquèrent les vertus de la femme, qui sont la chastité et la charité, mais méritèrent dans toutes les abbayes qui nous occupent qu'on leur appliquât ces paroles que le cardinal de Rohan, évêque de Strasbourg, grand aumonier de France, légat apostolique, adressait au Chapitre de Remiremont après sa visite de l'abbaye, en mai 1727.[3]

"Madame et Mesdames, notre mission est finie. Je vous rendrai le témoignage que, de tout ce que j'ai vu et de tout ce que j'ai entendu, j'ai été également édifié. Quelle consolation pour Sa Sainteté[4] d'apprendre qu'au milieu de ces montagnes, il se trouve un nombre considérable de chanoinesses qui, liées par la charité, et renonçant aux grandeurs humaines auxquelles elles semblaient appelées par leur naissance, *ne s'occupent que de rendre à Dieu un culte aussi exact et aussi saint que si elles étaient consacrées par des vœux.* Ce grand pape, à ce récit, se rappellera l'idée de ces dames romaines qui, du temps de Saint Jérôme, faisaient l'admiration du monde chrétien et qui ont été célébrées par les éloges de ce qu'il y a de plus grand dans l'Église. . . ."

[p. 6] L'abbesse reçoit l'institution abbatiale par le voile et la consécration par l'onction au front et sur les mains. Elle a pour insignes la crosse d'or, qu'elle ne porte jamais personnellement: c'est la fonction de son sénéchal, officier séculier . . . lorsqu'elle est au chœur, cette crosse est debout, à gauche et sur le devant de sa stalle;—l'aumusse que seule elle peut porter;—une bague de saphir, anneau d'institution . . .—un chaperon de velours noir doublé d'hermine mouchetée. Dans les processions, on portait devant elle le voile de soie, couleur de pourpre, qu'on nomme Pallium. C'etait un symbole antique: le fond en était brodé d'oiseaux d'or et d'argent, avec des grelots au col et une houppe sur le tête. Les Dames chanoinesses

[1] Mabillon, *Œuvres posthumes*, II. [2] Aug. Digot, *M. de L. I.*, p. 387.
[3] Archives d'Epinal. [4] Benoit XIII.

A CANONESS SECULAR OF REMIREMONT, c. 1700.

Wearing choir "cappa" or mantle over ordinary dress.

[*Facing p.* 310.

prétendaient l'avoir reçu du pape Saint Léon IX. A l'église, sa stalle, placée du côte de l'epître, était surmontée d'un dais en velours rouge avec franges d'or, tandis que la doyenne (2e dignitaire) n'avait que le dais en velours écarlate avec franges d'argent. . . . Elle siégeait à la Diète et aux assemblées politiques par mandataire et pouvait voter au chapitre par fondé de pouvoir.[1]

La puissance souveraine de Madame l'Abbesse comprit jusqu'au 15 juillet 1579 tous les droits régaliens dans les 52 bans de sa jurisdiction:

1° Le droit du glaive et de justice ordinaire au civil et au criminel. Au premier degré, les causes étaient instruites par les juges et officiers de l'ordinaire nommés par elle; les appels des sentences de ce tribunal de première instance se portaient an *buffet* (plaid) de la Dame Doyenne, et en dernier ressort à la chambre abbatiale qui était le buffet de Madame. Celle-ci tenait en persone chaque année, le jeudi après la Notre-Dame de décembre. . . .

2° Le droit d'ambassade à la cour du suzerain, et plus [p. 7] tard du souverain. . . .

3° Le droit de battre monnaie. . . .

4° Le droit de recruter des troupes et de tenir garnison. Le sénéchal était le chef militaire. . . .

[p. 7] 5° Le droit de patronat dans les 52 bans, où se trouvaient les cures des chefs-lieux et 63 autres paroisses. L'élection des titulaires avait lieu en chapitre, excepté pour Amance, Quingey, La Bresse, Vittenheim, Moyentheim, auxquelles l'abbesse nommait seule, et Remoncourt, Lénoncourt, Thiraucourt et Aroffe, auxquelles la secrète nommait, tandis que le chapitre nommait directement encore à trente chapelles de son église ainsi qu'aux hôpitaux d'Arches et de Marlon. Cela fait un total de 147 desservances dans les diocèses de Toul, de Besançon, de Bâle et de Châlons-sur-Saône, dont l'abbaye disposait, ce qui mettait son influence religieuse à la hauteur de sa puissance politique et territoriale. . . .

[p. 8] Les chanoinesses n'étaient pas liées par le vœu de pauvreté, qu'elles ne prononçaient pas plus que les deux autres. Elles ne faisaient en effet aucun vœu, pouvaient abandonner le chapitre et même se marier: mais en quittant leur stalle, elles perdaient leur prébende.

La cérémonie de l'apprébendement mérite quelques lignes. La nouvelle dame entrait dans le sanctuaire, portant sur ses cheveux une couronne de romarin enrichie de pierreries: l'abbesse lui présentait un petit cordon noir, dernier vestige du voile béné-

[1] Dom Calmet, *N. de la L.*, ii. 278, etc.

diction, qu'on nommait le mary; sa plus proche parente étendait sur ses épaules le manteau de chœur. On lui offrait ensuite le pain et le vin. Puis elle prenait possession de la stalle qui lui était réservée. Les dames-nièces—quelque jeunes qu'elles fussent, elles portaient ce titre de dames—étaient élevées dans leur famille ou auprès de leur dame-tante, et prenaient de bonne heure l'habitude des pratiques, religieuses et de la charité: ce qui ne les empêchait pas de s'initier à l'abbatiale, aux usages de la haute société, et de faire ensuite l'ornement des cours, lorsqu'elles se mariaient ou passaient dans le monde leurs absences de l'abbaye. . . . Il pouvait y entrer jusqu'à soixante-dix neuf dames prébendaires et les historiens s'accordent à constater qu'il y eut toujours au chœur de la collégiale au moins quarante [p. 9] chanoinesses officiantes, ce qui y donnait aux cérémonies du culte un éclat sans pareil. Dom Calmet a pu dire dans son *Histoire de Lorraine*, que les Dames de Remiremont faisaient l'office divin avec beaucoup d'exactitude et de majesté, et ce témoignage du savant bénédictin est irrécusable.[1]

[p. 15] Marguerite d'Haraucourt, † 1568 . . . [on her tomb] elle était représentée en bas-relief, les mains jointes, l'aumusse sur le bras droit, la crosse sous le bras gauche. . . .

EPINAL.

[*Ib.*, p. 25.]

L'organisation était la même qu'à Remiremont. . . . Elle était composée d'une abbesse, d'une doyenne, d'une secrète, de quatre dames chantres et de quatorze chanoinesses. On ignore l'époque de la sécularisation; mais, dès 1294, Conrad, évêque de Toul, ayant entrepris de les ramener à l'état monastique régulier, ces Dames lui firent signifier que, bien qu'elles vécussent religieusement dans leur monastère, qu'elles célébrassent louablement l'office divin et qu'on les qualifiât de l'Ordre de Saint-Benoît, cependant ni elles, ni leurs prédécessrices n'avaient porté l'habit de cet ordre et n'avaient adopté cette règle, ni aucune autre; que dès le temps de leur institution, elles avaient possédé des prebends et joui de leurs biens propres. . . . L'habit de chœur était le même qu'à Remiremont; l'Abbesse avait seule l'hermine mouchetée, tandis que les dames chanoinesses l'avaient toute blanche.

[1] Dom Calmet, *H. de L.*, 1re édition, III., p. clxxxvii.

NIVELLE.

From Pierre Hèlyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques*, t. vi., pp. 433–434.

Le Chapitre de Nivelle est composé de quarante-deux Chanoinesses qui doivent avoir fait preuves de Noblesse de quatre races, tant du côté paternel que du côté maternel. Le jour de leur reception qui se fait avec beaucoup de pompe et de magnificence, elles sont aussi reçuës Chevalières de saint Georges. On leur présente un carreau de velours, sur lequel, elles s'agenoüillent pendant la Messe. A l'Évangile elles tiennent à la main une épée nuë, et à la fin de la Messe un Gentilhomme, après leur avoir donné l'acolade leur donne trois coups du plat de l'epée sur le dos, et les reçoit ainsi Chevalières de saint Georges. Leur habillement consiste en un corps de jupe blanc avec des bandes de velours noir pardevant, des manches de toile fort amples, un autre morceau de toile qu'elles mettent depuis la ceinture jusqu'à mi-jambes, et fait en façon de surplis. Elles ont par dessus un manteau noir doublé d'hermine. Elles ont aussi une fourrure de petit gris au bas de leur jupe, une fraise autour du col, et la tête couverte d'un voile blanc, de soïe. L'Abbesse est Dame de Nivelle, tant au spirituel qu'au temporel. Il y a dans le même Chapitre des Chanoines qui font leur service dans une Église voisine, et en certains jours de l'année ils viennent dans le Chœur des Chanoinesses, où ils psalmodient avec elles. Dans le Chapitre l'Abbesse préside aux Chanoines et aux Chanoinesses, et ils pourvoient tous ensemble aux Benefices vacans par la mort ou par le mariage des Chanoinesses.

IX.—The Coronation of a Queen of Bohemia by the Abbess of Hradschin.

From *Chapitres Nobles d'Autriche.* Félix de Salles, Vienne, 1889, p. 33.

Règlement du Cérémonial du Couronnement de l'Impératrice Marie-Louise, en qualité de Reine de Bohéme.[1]

(Description des cérémonies que Son Altesse Royale Madame l'archiduchesse Marie-Anne doit faire en qualité d'abbesse du

[1] Cette pièce est en français, mais nous nous sommes permis d'en corriger le style et l'orthographe, par trop fantaisistes. Arch. du Maradchin.

chapitre royal des dames chanoinesses de Prague, au couronnement de S. M. l'impératrice Marie-Louise.)

Avant que S. M. l. et R. se rend solennellement à l'église, S. A. R., accompagnée de son grand-maître et de deux dames du chapitre, ira dans la chapelle de St. Wenceslas y attendre l'arrivée de S. M., et quand celle-ci s'approchera de cette chapelle, S. A. R. en sortira pour la recevoir, puis la suivra jusqu'à la chapelle, et, tandis que S. M. fera sa prière, S. A. R. se mettra sur *l'agenouilloir* (prie-dieu) préparé pour elle.

Mais lorsque, à la fin de sa prière, S. M. ira s'asseoir, S. A. R. fera le compliment en son nom et au nom de tout le chapitre, pour féliciter S. M. de son glorieux couronnement, après quoi la femme du grand-chancelier mettra sur la tête de S. M. un bandeau d'or.

Aussitôt que S. M. sortira de la chapelle de St. Wenceslas, pour s'avancer vers le trône, S. A. R., accompagnée de son grand-maître, marchera un peu en arrière et du côté gauche, à côté de S. M., et se mettra du côté droit du trône à genoux sur le prie-dieu qu'elle trouvera préparé à cet effet; elle accompagnera ensuite S. M. à l'autel, et, pendant les *Litanies des Saints*, elle s'agenouillera et se relèvera en même temps que S. M.; elle accompagnera de même S. M. jusqu'au trône et reviendra à sa place.

Après *l'Epître*, S. A. R. accompagnera encore S. M. à l'autel et restera debout jusqu'à la fin de l'onction; après quoi S. A. R. prendra le coton, qui lui sera présenté par le cérémoniaire de la cour, essuiera les saintes huiles, puis suivra S. M. derrière l'autel et les estompera avec de la mie de pain et du sel. Cela fait, lorsque S. M. sera de retour à l'autel et sera agenouillée, S. A. R. prendra sur l'autel la couronne royale de Bohême et la donnera au grand-burgrave, et dès que Me la grande-chambellane aura couvert la tête de S. M. d'une coiffe de satin rouge, S. A. R., assistée du grand-burgrave et de Mgr l'archevêque, couronnera S. M. Cet acte accompli, S. A. R. prendra sur l'autel le globe impérial et le sceptre, et donnera l'un au grand-juge et l'autre au secrétaire d'état.

Ensuite S. A. R. accompagnera S. M. jusqu'au trône et s'agenouillera sur son prie-dieu; elle y restera jusqu'à *l'Offertoire:* alors elle accompagnera encore S. M. à l'autel, et, après que S. M. aura fait son offrande, elle l'accompagnera jusqu'au trône.

A la *Préface*, S. A. R. ôtera la couronne à S. M., avec l'aide du grande-chambellan, et la posera sur le coussin préparé.

Après la communion de Mgr l'archevêque, Me la grande-chambellane recouvrira le tête de S. M. avec la coiffe, et S. A. R. remettra la couronne sur la tête de S. M., puis elle retournera à son prie-dieu.

A CANONESS REGULAR OF THE LATERAN, c. 1700.

Wearing the sleeved rochet as part of the ordinary dress.

[See also pp. 316 and 318.]

[*Facing p.* 314.

La grande messe finie, après la bénédiction donnée par Mgr l'archevêque, S. A. R. suivra S. M. hors de l'église, un pas en arrière, jusqu'à la salle des États, et de là à la table, où S. A. R. présentera la serviette à S. M., après qu'elle aura lavé ses mains; puis elle s'assièra elle-même à la table. S. A. R. présentera de même la serviette à S. M., après la table, dèsqu'elle aura lavé ses mains, et accompagnera de même S. M. dans ses appartements.

X.—Extracts from the English Fifteenth-Century Rules for the Nuns of the Bridgettine House of Syon, Middlesex.

From *The History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery, the Parish of Isleworth, and the Chapelry of Hounslow*, G. J. Aungier, London, 1840, pp. 243-409.

The Bridgettine rule provided for a double monastery under an abbess (see Mr. Hamilton Thompson's article, *supra*, p. 163). The clergy and lay brethren did everything required about the altars: "The obseruaunces at the autyrs longeth to the brethren and not to the sustres" (chs. xxii., xxiii., p. 329). "Also, for as moche as the sustres use no sensyng, it is accordyng that instead of encense they use devoute prayer, sayng withe the prophete, '*Dirigatur, Domine, ad te oratio mea sicut incensum in conspectu tuo*'" (ch. xxvii., p. 336). The following short extracts from very long documents give some idea of the rules for the arrangement of the choir and the carrying out of Divine Service.

(Pp. 334, 335.)

CHAPTER XXVI.

Of the maner of doing dyuyne seruise, et caetera.

In alle principal and hyghe festes the abbes stalle is to be arayed more honestly than other tymes, and the chauntres withe one of her felawes in al suche festes schal kepe the myddes of the quyer, all seruyse tyme, occupyeng the office of the rectrices or two begynners, begynnynge alle thynge towarde the este, saue at *Indulgete* they schal conforme them to the quyer. Alle maner of chaptres at euensonge, complen, matens, pryme, and houres, schal euer be seyd in a lowe sober voyce. Also in alle hyghe festes the chauntres schal assygne one of the eldest sustres to rede the *fyrste leson* at matens, the pryores the *secunde*, and the abbes to the *thrydde*, and foure at the leste of the eldest

sustres, beste disposed in the brestes to synge the *verse* of the response at the fyrst euensonge, and the *thyrdde verse* at matens, and *Allelujah* at masse and *Benedicite* at euensonge in festes of our lady. In alle other double festes and dayes sche schalle assygne other sustres to do the seyd thynges, and al other after the feste or day is. So that on *sondayes* and festes of *nyen lessons*, or of the strenghte of nyen lessons, as *Seynt John Portlatyn*, *Inuitatorium triplex*, and suche other, sche schal assigne a nother suster to synge the *venite* withe the sustres that be tabled therto, and so sche schal do to the thryd response at matens, and *allelujah* at masse, but in double festes foure at leste schal synge the *venite*.

(P. 359.)

CHAPTER XLV.

Of the ordering of the quyer.

In the entres of the quyer on the ryghte syde at the weste ende schal be the abbes stalle, and on the lefte syde the priores. Other sustres schal stonde, the eldeste nexte to the abbes and priores, half at oo syde, halfe at other, as they be in order of profession. . . .

Of the office of the abbes.

In al principal festes, the abbes shal execute the seruyse, syngyng the verse and *benedicite* at euensonge, and the thrydde verse at matens, and *Allelujah*, or the last verse of the tracte, at our lady masse. Also sche sehal rede the trydde lesson in al principal festes, and so sche may in alle other festes, what euer they be, and sung any thyng at euensonge, matens, and masse, when sche felethe herselfe disposed. Also sche schal make al the terminacions in the chirche, zeue the thrid blyssynge at matens, whan sche redethe not the lesson, and al other blyssynges in the quyer, chapter, and freytour say *Anima regis* and *Domine sancte Pater*, and zeue holy water after *complen*. Also it lyethe in her charge to se that al reguler obseruaunces be dewly kepte in the quyer and in al other places, conformynge herself to the same in all poyntes, and to admitte seculer women to the religion, as it is seyd before in the fyftenthe chapter, or in to sustres and brethren of the chapter, suche as devoutly aske it of her, after the forme expressed in the eghte chapter, withe many other thynges here and there in thys boke sette oute. If sche be absente from the quyer, or undisposed to synge, the priores, or the ebdomadaryes, schal fulfyl her stede, as it is most accordynge.

A CANONESS REGULAR OF THE LATERAN, c. 1700.

Wearing the black "cappa" over the rochet in choir in winter.

[See also pp. 314 and 318.]

[*Facing p.* 316.

XI.—Women and Oblations.

Penitential of Archbishop Theodore (668-690).

VII. 1.—Mulieres non velant altare cum corporali, nec oblationes super altare nec calicem ponant, neque stent inter ordinatos in ecclesia, neque in convivio sedeant inter sacerdotes.

But instead of this a group of (later) MSS. has:

Mulieribus, id est, Christi famulabus licitum est in suis ecclesiis lectionem legere et implere ministeria quæ conveniunt ad confessionem sacrosancti altaris, nisi ea tantummodo quæ specialiter sacerdotum et diaconum sunt.

4. Mulier potest oblationes facera secundum Grecos, non secundum Romanos. (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, III. 196.)

In Ordo Romanus I.

After collecting the *oblationes* on the men's side—

Pontifex vero, antequam transeat in parte mulierum, descendit ante confessionem et suscipit oblationes prisnicarii, *etc.* . . . Similiter adscendens pontifex in partem feminarum ordine quo supra omnia explet. (Ed. Atchley, p. 134.)

Alcuini Ep. 59 (to Ediburga, daughter of Offa, King of the Mercians, Abbess of Fladbury, Worcester), a.d. 796.

Misi dilectioni tuæ ampullam et patenem ad offerendam in eis domino deo tuis manibus oblationem. Et dum oculis illa aspicias, dicito: Christe, miserere Alchuini servuli tui. Et velim te cotidiana consuetudine usum habere offerendi deo munus ad altare: quia apostolica auctoritas hanc constituit consuetudinem; ideo non est omittenda sed diligenter prosequenda. (*Monum. Alcuiniana*, Wattenbach and Dümmler, 1873.)

XII.—Saxon Documents signed by Abbesses.

From Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, vol. iii. pp. 238-240.

a.d. 696-716.—Privilege granted to the churches and monasteries of Kent by King Wihtred at a Kentish Witenagemot at Beccanceld [Bapchild, near Sittingbourne, in Kent]. Signed by

King Wihtred, Queen Werburga, Archbishop Berthuuald, Æthelbert and his brother Eadbert, Tobias bishop [of Rochester], the Abbesses Mildriða, Ætheldriða, Aette, Wilnoða, and Hereswyða, and nine priests.

(Pp. 462-463.)

A.D. 787.—Grant of Offa to the monastery of Chertsey, issued in a synodal meeting at Aecleah.[1] [Questionable.] Signed by Offa, Queen Cynedritha, Ecgfrid the king's son, "✠ Ego Aethelburga abbatissa consensi. ✠ Ego Ælfleda virgo consensi. ✠ Ego Eadburga virgo consensi. ✠ Ego Jambertus gratia Dei concedente Archiepiscopus, synodali collegio præsidens in loco qui dicitur Aecleah . . . consensi et subscripsi. . . ."

(Pp. 570-571.)

A.D. 811, August 1.—Witenagemot in London, in which Kenulf sells lands in Kent to Archbishop Wulfred. Signed by Coenulf, King of the Mercians, Ælfþryð his queen, King Sigred, Archbishop Wulfred and several other bishops and lay magnates; concludes "✠ Cuoenburg abbatissa subscripsit. ✠ Seleburg abbatissa subscripsit ✠ Cuðred presbyter subscripsit."

Yet there are many lists of signatures without women's names, *e.g.*, Council of Clovesho, 803; Act forbidding election of laymen or seculars as lords of monasteries, pp. 545-547, about 90 signatures of bishops, abbots, and priests, but no abbesses.

[1] Ockley in Surrey.

A CANONESS REGULAR OF THE LATERAN, c. 1700.

Wearing the surplice instead of the "cappa" in choir in summer.

[See also pp. 314 and 316.]

[*Facing p.* 318.

INDEX

Abbess:
— in Councils, 19
— jurisdiction of, 17
— deaconess and, 12, 58, 119, 127
— form for blessing, 302
Apostolic Church Order, 75, 91, 96
Apostolic Constitutions, 64, 97

Bohemia, crowning of queen by abbess, 173
Breviary delivered to consecrated nuns, 129, 168
Bridgettine order, 163, 215
Burial service taken by Dominican prioress, 167

Canonesses:
— (1) regular (under vows), 171, 176
— (2) secular (not under vows), 151, 172, 173, 303
— rules for, 303
— joining in service with canons, 175
— their choral obligation, 173
Carthage, 85
Carthusian nuns, 168
Catherine's, St., 24, 189
Ceremonial actions, women and, 166
Chaplains of nunneries, 154
Choirs of women religious, 166
Choir services, women taking, 15
Church Orders, 53, 91, 110
Churchwardens, women, 300
Collins, the late Dr., 106
Communities of women, early, 61, 83
Consecrated nuns:
Benedictine, 169
Carthusian, 169
Cistercian, 169
Conversano, 171
Cooper, Professor James, 216
Coronation of queens-regnant, 179
Councils, women in, 318
Crozier, used by abbesses, 177

Deacon, 93, 94, 109
Deacon, Dr. T., the Nonjuror's form, 278

Deaconesses:
— abbess, connection with, 125, 127
— age, 12
— American, 193, 211, 214
— assisting at baptism, 55, 69, 116
— bibliography, 200
— Colonial, 193
— giving communion to sick women, 12, 56, 116, 120
— Danish, 294
— functions of, 7, 53, 104
— houses of, in England, 187, 188
— Irvingite, 295
— keeping doors of churches, 56
— late survivals of, 125
— liturgical forms for ordaining, 219, etc., 302
— marriage of, 197, 206
— mixing chalice, 12, 116
— modern revival, 24, 136, 182, 202
— nature of, 10
— in N.T., 5, 93
— ordination of, 9, 54, 57, 74, 98, 129, 168
— — of, prohibitions, 60
— ordination forms, 219
— — — ancient, 240
— — — eighteenth-century, 278
— — — suggested, 240
— Presbyterian, 194
— Scandinavian, 194
— status in England, 170
— survival in consecrated nuns, 167
— teaching, 55
Diakonieverein, 185
Didascalia, Syriac, 65, 91, 95
Divine service, 165
Double monasteries, 145-164

Eastern nuns, 175
Eeles, Francis C., 165, 298
Epinal, 312
Eucharistic elements, offering by queen, 180
Eucharist, reserved, administration by women, 296
Eucharistic elements, preparation of, by nuns, 298

Ferard, Elizabeth, 24, 187
Freestone, W. H., 296

Gallican Councils, 121
Gardner, Miss Alice, 40, 79
Guilds, women in mediæval, 300

Hilda, St., 19, 146
Hradschin, abbess of, crowns Queen of Bohemia, 173, 309, 313
Huelgas, Las, 170

Judaism, women under, 30, 32
Jurisdiction by abbesses (R.C. statement), 169
Justinian, novel on deaconesses, 300

Kaiserswerth, 24, 133, 184

Lessons, reading of, in choir of women, 165

Maclean, Dr., 53
Male element in nunneries, 145
Marriage of deaconesses, 143, 197, 206
Mason, Dr. A. J., 29
Mildmay, 24, 189
Mission-field, 192
Mitre worn by abbesses, 170
Modern developments, 22
Monasteries of men and women: see Double monasteries
Montanism, 81, 101
Moray, Bishop of, 53
Moutiers-sur-Sambre, 303

Nivelle, 313
New Testament, 2, 29
— list of passages, 3
Nunneries, early, 62
— mediæval, 149-164
Nuns, consecrated, 167, 169

Offering of oblations by women, 299, 317
Old Testament, 30, 31

Paul, St., 4, 38, 40
— on marriage, 49, 50
— on sex equality, 51
— on widows, 88
Paulianist deaconesses, 99
Presbyteresses, 59
Presbyterians, 216
Priesthood, no evidence for, of women, 1, 4
Prophesying by women, 79
Protestant deaconesses, 134

Queen-regnant, coronation of, 179

Reformation period, 130
Remiremont, 309
Restrictions on women's ministry, 13
— women not to baptise, 13, 55
— women not to approach altar, 16
— women not to minister to general congregation, 21
Rigby, A. D., 219
Robinson, Dr. J. Armitage, 64

Sacrament: see Baptism, Eucharist, Marriage
Sanford, Deaconess C., 211
Saxon Church, women in, 145, 317, 318
Scotland, 216
Singers, Roman rule as to women, 167
Stanton, Dr. H. U. Weitbrecht, 182
Surplice, worn by canonesses, 176, 303
Stole and maniple, use of, by consecrated nuns, 168

Teaching office of women, 35, 55, 79, 82
Testamentum Domini, 77
Thompson, A. Hamilton, 145
Turner, Dr. C. H., 87
Siddall and Barker, Deaconesses, 202
Synagogue, women in, 31
Syon, 163, 315
Vestments:
  Albe, 176
  Almuce, worn by canonesses regular, xiv
  Coronation, worn by queen, 180
  Maniple, 168, 169
  Mitre used by abbesses, 170
  Stole, 9, 168, 223, 234, 235
  Surplice, 176
Virgins, in N.T., 37
— in early Church, 60, 101

Whitney, Dr. J. P., 299
Widows, 13, 76, 110
— assisting at baptism, 54
— in N.T., 87
— in Church orders, 91
— instructing, 13
— ordination of widows-president, 57
Workers, licensed, 28

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